

INSIDE: The Mysterious Reichmanns And Their Wealth

Maclean's

AUGUST 24, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

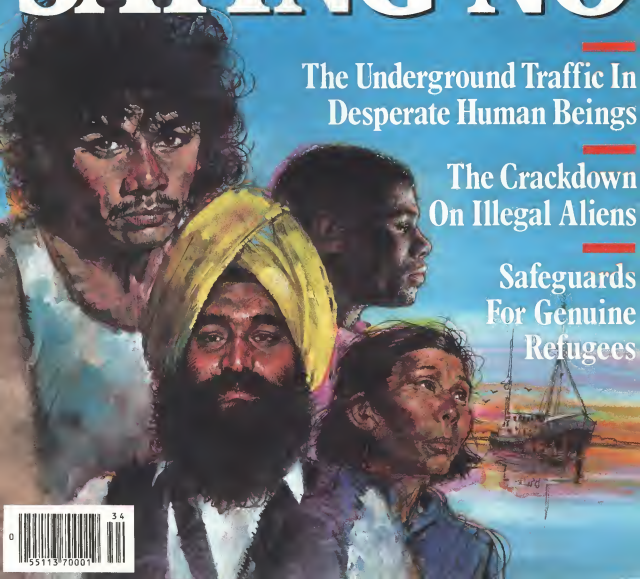
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SAYING NO

**The Underground Traffic In
Desperate Human Beings**

**The Crackdown
On Illegal Aliens**

**Safeguards
For Genuine
Refugees**



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

Maclean's

AUGUST 24, 1987, VOL. 180 NO. 34

COVER

Saying No

They are an exasperated and growing problem—the estimated 12 million refugees who have fled war, oppression and famine in their homelands. Last week the federal government proposed tough new rules designed to ensure that Canada accepts only those in real need. But critics said that the crackdown against Canada's tradition as a haven for the homeless.

—Page 8

COVER ART BY JENNIFER HARRISON



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Apartheid and diplomacy

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark, on a whirlwind visit to Africa last week, sought new impetus for Canada's halting drive to end South African apartheid.

—Page 22



The stuff of legends

Mark McGwire, the six-foot, five-inch first baseman for the Oakland Athletics, is rewriting the record for home runs by a rookie—and he is far from finished.

—Page 36



Capital developments

After a brief foray into other areas, Toronto's Rothmans brothers have returned to their traditional interest, property development, in a major role.

—Page 26



Making a clean sweep

Playing a spoiled brat turned roadie in the movie *Maid to Order* proved a learning experience for Ally Sheedy, one of the first Pack of Hollywood stars.

—Page 27

Broadbent's chance

It was truly refreshing to read your story about Bob Broadbent and the federalist at New Democratic Party's prospects of forming the next federal government ("On the march," Cover, Aug. 30). I am tired of the old parties with their broken promises, scandals and patronage. I am most impressed that the NDP's first priority would be full employment for Canadians. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has failed to put forward a comprehensive program for jobs, despite his promise to do so in 1984. It is time for a party to provide Canada with a fair, responsible and consistent government.

—NICK SCOTT
Ottawa



Broadbent, the prospect of power

With the NDP's success in the recent by-elections, it appears that the party may well form our next federal government. ("A clean headline sweep," Cover, Aug. 3). But how can Canadians be assured that the NDP won't promise one platform and deliver another? If Canadians desire effective government, then it is time for more than a new party. We need a change to more responsible government. Our present form of government takes far too long to implement new ideas and is negligent in refusing these ideas to best suit the needs of the people. These problems are the direct result of party politics and its inherent patronage.

—ALAN KAT
Burnaby, B.C.

Soviet art exhibits

Who told Menon's that Alexander Solzhenitsyn is "the first Soviet artist to have a

Putting a limit on newcomers

In your interview with Immigration Minister Benoit Boissard ("There is no real answer," July 27), he made no mention of a quota for so-called refugees. In fact, he maintains that the number entering our country cannot be controlled. What rubbish. Surely there is a limit in Europe and the United States on these their borders or limit immigration, as can Canada.

—R.R. HOLLANDER
Vernon

Fotheringham looks eastward

Allen Fotheringham's column "Density with tears and grit" (Aug. 3), comparing the Atlantic provinces, is too long. It should have stopped halfway down the first column with the comment, "I know nothing (as with most Canadians) about the area." Unfortunately, he continues for two more columns to prove it. —MARGARET STEIN, Halifax

Letters are printed and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Mail correspondence to: Editor, The Globe, Mail, 1100 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario, M5G 1A7.

PASSAGES

APPOINTED: As U.S. commerce secretary, C. William Verity, 70, retired chairman of Ohio-based steel company Arcon Inc., by longtime friend President Ronald Reagan, pending expected Senate approval. Verity replaces Malcolm Baldrige, who died on July 25 of injuries suffered when he was crushed by a horse. Verity will take over the job of monitoring the U.S. economy amid sensitive negotiations between Washington and Ottawa over a free-trade agreement.

MARRIED: Quebec pop star René Simard, 26, and childhood friend Marie-Josée Bédard, in St-Sauveur, Que. Former grammar minister Pierre Landry once teased the couple: "Let's drink to the health but mostly to the happiness of Marie-Josée and René."

WILD: Crazy, four-foot, 10-inch, deep-voiced TV commercial superstar Clara Peller, 36, who played the outraged consumer in the 1984 ads for Wendy's International Inc., at her home in Chicago. Examining tiny hamburger patties allegedly served by other fast-food chains, Peller snidely inquired, "Where's the beef?" Wendy's reported a 31-per-cent increase in revenues during the campaign.

SENTENCED: Former Social Credit member and former speaker of the B.C. legislature Walter Davidson, 59, is a \$1,500 fine and 90 days probation, by county court Judge David Campbell, who on July 21 found Davidson guilty of counselling in current felony during last fall's provincial election campaign. Davidson showed that Davidson had sold a printer to finance \$2,500 worth of leaflets as "stationery," which would have been too detectable, rather than as campaign brochures. Davidson had remained as a member until his conviction, at which point his seat became vacant under the B.C. Constitution Act.

RE-ELECTED: Prime Minister David Lange and his New Zealand Labour Party, to a second consecutive three-year term. Labour's majority fell to 15 (down 17 in the 1984 Parliament). But the result was still a triumph for Lange, the first Labour leader to secure re-election since 1960, whose free-market policies have won over the business world.

CHARGED: L.A. Law TV star and Bravo magazine's James Van Der Beek and girlfriend Juanita Cruz, 24, for an alleged attack on three police officers who were investigating neighbors' reports that they had heard a woman screaming in the Los Angeles apartment; the couple shares Santa plaza streetwise defense lawyer Victor Strickland.

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SAYING NO

It was a request that has become almost routine. An immigration agent from KLM Flight 697 from Amsterdam trooped past Calgary customs agents on Aug. 8, an Iranian family claimed refugee status in Canada. The six- and-a-half-year-old boy and his mother and a woman with two teenage children—acknowledged that they had bombed their passports and visas down the aircraft's toilets. Then, pleading for anonymity, they argued that Iranian authorities would punish them by burning—and perhaps executing—their relatives at home. Two days later, at immigration hearings, the Iranians won their privacy and their freedom, while their claims proved through Canada's tortuous refugee determination process—a process that can last as long as seven years. Similar cases are registered as often as 700 times a week across the country, leading Prime Minister Brian Mulroney to call a special session of Parliament last week to debate the issue. Declared a senior immigration official: "We did not invent the second-hand refugee movement from Europe. The system has begun to break down."

Anyhow. The daily flood of refugee claimants has ignited a sharp moral and political debate in Canada. The central issue: who is a genuine refugee? For some Canadians, the six Iranians were only second-hand refugees—well-off migrants who abandoned a comfortable life in the Netherlands to seek an even more comfortable life in Canada. For others, the Iranians were frightened transients, living with temporary asylum



Canadians crossing the border into Thailand, how much help for the world's 72 million refugees?

but without citizenship in Europe, and fearful of a forced return to war-torn Iran.

Those issues were at the heart of last week's emergency session of Parliament. Resisted from their summer recess, MPs revisited tough immigration legislation that would curtail the growing number of claims for refugee status. A new bill would deter refugees, deport claimants who are security risks and detain the approximately 700 migrants who arrive each month without documentation. A second bill, introduced last May, would streamline the refugee determination process from the current seven stages to a more efficient three. It would also serve as half of the elements at the border, including migrants

who arrive from so-called "safe countries" where they had a chance to request asylum.

Turmoil. For many yrs, the bill represented an uncomfortable compromise. Public opinion is strongly in favor of the measures, an Angus Reid Associates Inc. poll for Southern News, released at week's end, showed that 79 per cent of respondents supported the government's definition of 175 East Indian men and one Turkish woman who waited ashore in Nova Scotia on July 12 and its repeal of Parliament to pass new immigration laws. But many yrs were also costly to those that the bill could break the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms—including such key measures as the right to protection from arbitrary

detention. Opponents say that the government had gone too far in allowing immigration critic Serge Marché to protest, "The proposal's impact violates our spirit of Canadian justice and civil liberties."

Indeed, as yrs sweated with these bills, the United Nations' Geneva-based High Commissioner for Refugees, Jean-Pierre Macé, expressed his "serious concern" that the measures could expose genuine asylum seekers to "forcible return to territories where their lives or freedom would be threatened."

But Immigration Minister Jean-Pierre Boivin replied that Canada only wants to stop smuggling of illegal immigrants and "will never turn back a legitimate refugee."

For their part, Canadians from coast to coast were embroiled in a broader debate: how much help—and what kind of help—should they give to the world's 72 million political refugees? It is also difficult to determine how to distinguish between political refugees and the millions of other migrants who now wander the globe in search of a better life. Canada's membership in the United Nations' definition of a refugee as a person with "a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group or political opinion."

But because many migrants cannot prove personal persecution, some observers say that Ottawa should broaden that definition—to include anyone from any country torn by war.

Mobile. While Canadians debated those questions, two countries remained the global problem is economic—and Canada's immigration system cannot handle it. According to the United Nations Committee for Refugees, a privately funded group, an estimated 15 million refugees are scattered around the world, displaced by civil turmoil or persecution. Almost five million are Afghans, fleeing a bloody civil war two years ago. About 1.5 million are in camps and border towns in Pakistan. And about 88,000 Cambodians are crammed into

swamp camps along that country's border with Thailand (page 12). Three million migrants have found an uneasy home in Africa, including 900,000 people from Ethiopia, Chad and Uganda who have taken refuge in the Sudan. As Raphael Girard, co-ordinator of Ottawa's Refugee Determination Task Force, told Macé: "The focus that produces refugees are on the increase. There are also a lot more people now—and they are a lot more mobile."

Stark: Meanwhile, a new kind of refugee has emerged: the so-called economic migrant. Canada's immigration officials point to thousands of immigrants from Brazil, Turkey and even Portugal within the past few years who asked for refugee status even though those countries do not produce refugees. And by law, all claimants must be heard. A senior immigration official pointed a stark picture: "The largest allocation in the world's history is taking place and it is largely from the Third World to the developed countries. People move to where things are better—and they are on the move in the millions."

But the developed world's tolerance for refugees may have reached its limit. In recent years the United States and most western European nations have enacted restrictive legislation that often bars them from work and their children from school (page 12). As a result, Canada has become an increasingly attractive destination. In 1980 only 1,600 migrants asked for refugee status; this year

the figure was up to a staggering 30,000.

The system was overwhelmed by the system. At one point last February more than 1,000 people were claiming refugee status every week. The backlog is astronomical: by year's end, about 40,000 cases will have accumulated. Immigration officials estimate that they will reject up to 84 per cent of those claims. As Immigration Minister Boivin has declared: "The existing system was never designed to deal with the growing number of claims and with the large number of false claims to refugee status. It is not designed and can no longer respond effectively to grant refugees in need of Canada's protection."

Persecution: Boivin's legal prescriptions, Bill C-84 and Bill C-85, are designed to discourage abusive claimants. Last spring's sweeping legislation, Bill C-85, would provide a two-member panel to hear requests for asylum within 72 hours. The panel would reject arrivals who can be safely returned to the countries from which they came—although an immigration department paper stipulated that would not deport claimants who "simply passed through another country." The panel would also reject claimants who already have refugee status in another country and those who cannot establish a credible basis for a well-founded fear of persecution. Claimants who survive that panel's scrutiny would move on to a hearing before two members of the Refugee Board. Rejected applicants, in turn, could seek the Federal Court's permission to appeal.

The emergency Bill C-84, complements those measures. Under its terms, a senior immigration officer could detain a migrant who arrives without papers for seven days. On the request of the immigration minister, detention could be extended for an additional 30 days—or even longer, if the claimant remains unidentified—as long as there are weekly reviews by a senior immigration officer. If the government believes that a claimant is a security threat, it may detain him and prohibit him from entering or staying in Canada. If a Federal Court judge agrees with the evidence, the claimant



Afghans on their way to a relief camp; moral debate

world faces immediate deportation. To deter smugglers, Ottawa wants to increase the penalty from a maximum fine of \$2,000 with two years in jail to a \$500,000 fine with 10 years in jail. Fines for transportation companies that carry migrants without documents to Canada would increase to \$5,000 from \$2,000 per person.

While in a highly controversial measure, the bill stipulates that anyone "who knowingly assists, induces, allows or attempts to convince, induces, and/or the coming into Canada" of a person without valid documents is guilty of an offence. Since church members often assist Central American refugees in the United States in crossing the Canadian border to claim refugee status, opponents say it would force them to report suddenly false prosecution—even if they led the claimant to a border guard. Said Sergio Marzotto, Liberal immigration critic: "How can the minister justify making the action of a priest, nun or layman who genuinely helps individuals in need an act of civil disobedience?" Added Laurel Whitley, a spokeswoman for the Toronto-based Coalition for a Just Refugee and Immigration Policy: "The majority of people in our groups on the front lines want to continue a law like this would not deter them."

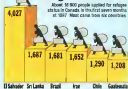
That controversy is a taste of the legal forces that the two bills are likely to engender. Toronto immigration lawyer Barbara Jackson, for one, argues that the Charter applies to everyone, so that even refugee claimants are entitled to protection of "life, liberty

and Charter obligations. It's draconian and arbitrary—and it will result in the detention of real refugees."

The haste is surprising—because Ottawa has anticipated the crisis for several years. In 1985, Toronto Rabbi Gantner Pharo studied the refugee determination system for the federal government (page 12). He recommended a streamlined process with full rights of appeal—but Ottawa failed to act. Instead, one year later it granted what amounted to a general amnesty for 20,000 claimants in the backlog of 20,000 that existed in May, 1986. Then officials put more manpower and more money into the refugee process. It did not work. In May 1987, a new backlog of 30,000 cases has appeared. When asked about the chances of another general amnesty, immigration officials told Marzotto's, "Don't eliminate the possibility."

Where Canada's Refugees Come From

Above: 10,500 people applied for refugee status in Canada in the first seven months of 1987. Most came from six countries



and the security of the person" and the right "not to be arbitrarily detained or imprisoned." On that basis, Jackson said that the act of passing largely Charter challenges of such proposals to the 35-day detention for security risks act for claimants without documents said Jackson: "It has been so hastily drafted that it does not match up with

process and will protect civil rights, many church groups and civil liberties groups have proposed an alternative model to replace Bill C-66. They recommend that all claimants receive an oral hearing before the Refugee Board within 90 days of their claim. That board would have to report within 21 days. Rejected claimants could appeal



to another panel of the Review Board which, in turn, would have to decide within 30 days of the original decision. Claimants could ask for leave to appeal that decision to the Federal Court—although claimants with a "manifestly unfounded claim" would not be allowed to stay in Canada while the appeal was heard.

Desperate But the gulf between the church groups and the government goes deeper than a single dispute over process. At issue is who is eligible to live in Canada. Senior immigration officials contend that well-off claimants who arrive at airports and border crossings are undermining a carefully planned system to admit 115,000 to 120,000 immigrants in 1987—including 77,000 refugees huddled in camps or temporary homes around the world. As one senior immigration official said, "We are taking the real refugees—they are desperate, they are in camps, they are often behind barbed wire. They are not the ones who have enough money to book in with their local travel agent and check their passport to Montreal."

The real refugees are indeed in desperate circumstances—and their Third World host countries are losing patience. In Pakistan, resentment is high because Afghan traders are competing with local merchants and because Af-

ghans of Afghan-linked gangs and drugs is straining the local fabric. In the Sudan, local people have burned refugee villages. Flooded with Iranian refugees, Turkey now treats them as "in transit"—and thus not eligible to settle. There are even increasing reports of forced returns to Iran. And war has displaced half the rural population of Angola—and more than 400,000 Angolans are now sheltering in

Zaire and Zambia. Some officials worry that the migrants may soon face severe hunger. Said Thomas Brennan, an official with the U.S. Committee For Refugees: "Food is not a problem yet—it's the end of the harvest—but it's going to be." In those volatile regions connected with hundreds of thousands of refugees, Canada uses resettlement as a last resort, when host countries cannot

protect the refugees. That situation last occurred in the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Western nations accepted 12 million Vietnamese from fleeing refugee camps in Southeast Asia. But that massive influx, the largest resettlement program in history, handled less than 10 percent of the world's refugees.

Sources. When host countries are able to protect those refugees, Canada contributes vital aid \$274 million to international agencies in 1986. Refugee plans in Canada are reserved for migrants with no other recourse. As a result, Canadian immigration officials charge that elements from Europe are absorbing resources that should go to real refugees in real

Cherishing New Freedom

Their escape made international headlines and threatened to freeze Soviet-Canadian relations. In fact, when a Canadian plane transport plane spirited five Soviet army deserters out of Afghanistan last November, critics were aghast. But the Ministry of Defense (MoD) said the five were among an estimated 400 Soviet deserters held by anti-Communist Afghan rebels who have been fighting the country's pro-Moscow government and 125,000 Red Army troops since 1979. Spurring Moscow's invasion to return to the Soviet Union, the soldiers chose instead to live with Russian and Ukrainian families in Toronto. Nine months later the five—Yur Kanichuk, 25, Vladimir Golovinski, 24, Sergei Sapor, 23, Vadim Plotnikov, 22, and Vladimir Nazarov, 24—are all work-

ing at construction jobs and enjoying their freedom.

For the Soviets, learning the Russian language was the first priority. In June they graduated from a government-subsidized English program at Toronto's George Brown community college. Now Nazarov is earning \$18 an hour working 16-hour days at a construction plant in Richmond Hill, Ont., and is saving money to attend university next year. Said Nazarov: "Now I have freedom to work for myself, go any place I want and study." Nazarov has volunteered in Washington, New York and Los Angeles and has just purchased a \$1,250 car equipped. In heavily accented English, Nazarov said that he has noticed only one stark difference

between his native country and his new homeland: "In Canada and the United States everybody talks about money—or the subway, in the cities, everywhere I know I am finding it because now that is all I talk about."

Some of the Soviets have not fared as well. Golovinski, just 18 when he was sent to Afghanistan, has suffered severe bouts of homesickness. But Nazarov said that he would not even visit the Soviet Union until Moscow ends its involvement in the Afghan war. "They must admit it is a mistake like the Americans in Vietnam." In the meantime, Nazarov remains content with his new life. "I want," he said, "to stay here forever."



Nazarov: "I want to stay"

SEBASTIAN ARONOWSKI
in Toronto



Jack Kook: a "dreamer and arbitrary" refugee official

trouble Bogus migrants, declared one senior official, "are using up very scarce places."

Those same officials also warn that uncontrolled immigration could destroy Canadian tolerance. Said one: "We have been careful not to flood similar communities or larger ones with large, large numbers so that friction is created. [But] if your back door is open, that leads to chaos and racial backlash."

Still, those who can afford airline tickets may also be genuine refugees. And the lineup at the door, however untidy and disruptive, may include thousands of desperate people seeking refuge and proper change that Western nations stanch the label "economic refugees" on thousands of legitimate political refugees when their numbers begin to skyrocket. The result, they simply could not cope with millions of displaced people who are largely illiterate, from alien militaries, and with crippling health problems. Illegitimate Harold Troper, co-author of *Now Is Too Many*, a study of Canadian immigration policy during the Second World War, charges that federal officials have blamed the victims for the crisis. "The government has created a sense that Canada has become a dumping ground," he says.

Rhetoric As church and state leaders, he has become clear that many refugees live troubled lives that cannot fit into any legal categories. "Secrets against" Ahmed Yassin, 54, lost one brother when the army in his native Somalia charged that he was planning a coup—and executed him. A second brother has been imprisoned since 1981. Yassin fled Somalia after a few days in prison in 1976, spent three years in the Middle East and then went to the United States on a student's visa. He applied for political asylum in 1980—but received no response. He was working as his doctorate in agriculture when friends told him that he was an illegal alien. Yassin fled across the Canadian border at Niagara Falls in March, 1986—and claimed refugee status. If RE C-55 passes, migrants like Yassin would be turned back to the border. "The humanitarian gesture for Canada is over," Yassin said last week. "The government let it get out of control and now they want to send away tortured refugees." The rhetoric is strong. But Yassin's charges indicate that Canadian law is not working the way they want to help—and how they want to help them—as the queue grows at home and abroad.

—MARY JANKIN with TILLEY WICKENHOF
in Ottawa. (PHOTO) ALAN HEDDER in Toronto.
LARRY BLACK in New York and correspondents' reports

'A Hysterical Overreaction'

A noted scholar and author, Rabbi Gunther Plaut, fled his native Germany after the Nazis took power in the 1930s. In a 1984 study for the federal government, Plaut recommended strengthening Canada's refugee determination process but retaining full rights of appeal for refugees whose claims were rejected. *Maclean's* Associate Editor Murray Gee interviewed the rabbi in his Toronto office.



Plaut: "people running for their lives deserve extra care."

Maclean's: Why did you oppose the government's decision to recall *Permitment to Deal with the Refugee Issue*?

Plaut: It was a hysterical overreaction on the basis of false premises. People have the impression that a person who arrives at the airport and says "I am a refugee" is jumping the queue; in fact, he will not take one place away from an immigrant. **Maclean's:** What about the immigrant who arrives here through the normal process, has lived for years in living his brother to Canada, and now says please refugees joining entry?

Plaut: He should not blame the guy who came here, he should blame the government. My basic position is: have a fair, efficient, rapid system and like magic the bogus refugees will wind up alone. **Maclean's:** Is that not what the govern-

ment says that it wants to do—streamline the system?

Plaut: Oh, yes, but at the same time it would require a process that negates our basic human responsibilities. Under RE C-55, it is anticipated that a refugee's initial claim will be heard in 72 hours. Now quick is good, but too quick is not good. In 72 hours a person has to marshal his defenses, his proofs and everything. We have better safeguards in cases of minor jeopardy. People who say they are fleeing from their lives deserve just a little extra care.

Maclean's: What is causing the apparent refugee backlog?

Plaut: There's a fear that we will be inundated by the world's refugees. The fact is that we are so isolated from the world, so far away from the refugee-producing countries, that we have come to the conclusion that we are exempt from the world's woes. Now, 174 people get one in five because our sacred borders have been breached.

Maclean's: Canadians seem to think that they have a tradition of tolerance. Is that being undermined?

Plaut: Well, I don't think our tradition of tolerance.

In all that great, that I'd like to think that Canadians have a generous streak when they're not annoyed to irrational fears, and this stands occasionally in tension with our desire to be lulled from the world. Many people who are behind this backlash opened their hearts to the Vietnamese boat people.

Maclean's: If the backlash is real, what can be done to stop it?

Plaut: It won't stop. The time will come that we're going to be embarrassed about it. But the government has heard the message, which has been indicated in part by its own intolerance, inflexibility and insensitivity. I'm not even outraged, I'm just very saddened. I would like the Canadians to not be completely and realize that we have nothing to fear from our own compassion. □



Polish refugees arriving in Hamburg, West Germany: a growing public outcry

Europe Closes The Doors

For one year the white-hulled and ferry plied the choppy waters of the English Channel, carrying British vacationers to and from the island of Jersey. But in May the British government chartered the 6,674-ton *Esel William* for a less conventional purpose. Moored at Harwich harbor, about 100 km northeast of London, the ferry became a floating detention centre for 40 Tamil men and women who arrived in Britain in recent months seeking political asylum. Angry and frustrated, the Tamils remain on the *Esel William* while immigration officials review their cases. "We want here to see our lives because of the violence in Sri Lanka," said one of the Tamils, who refused to give his name. "But we are being treated as criminals."

In fact, Britain is only one of several European countries that have adopted tough measures to stem the flow of people seeking political asylum. Those measures include imposing visa requirements on citizens of many Third World countries, denying those against

whom carry passengers lacking necessary travel documents and swiftly deporting immigrants who arrive from other countries where they were not in any physical danger. The crackdown is aimed at halting waves of the refugee system, but human rights activists argue that even some legitimate refugees have been denied asylum. "The doors are closing all over Europe," said Hugh Hudson, a London-based spokesman for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).

Tough Despite such criticism, most European politicians make no apologies for their tough stance on refugees. They point out that the total number of applications for refugee status in Europe increased to 204,000 in 1986 from 164,000 in 1985. West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, for one, declared last year that his country "is not and cannot be a country of immigration." And in Britain, beleaguered Conservative MP Terry Davis said last April that controls need to be tightened even further to ensure that "law, ethics and

justice jumpers" were not allowed to enter the country illegally.

West Germany, which has faced the largest influx of asylum seekers, was one of the first European countries to tighten restrictions on refugees. The country's constitution guarantees asylum to "persons persecuted on political grounds," a measure that has made it easier for Eastern Europeans to defect. But in 1986 West Germany received almost 100,000 asylum seekers, more than 50 per cent of whom came from Third World countries. Last October the Kohl government moved to quell a growing public outcry by asking West German officials to restrict the flow of Third World migrants crossing into West Germany from East Berlin. As a result, 22,400 asylum seekers entered the country during the first six months of 1987—less than half the total for the first six of 1986.

Flows In the past six months West Germany, Britain and Denmark have begun to impose fines as high as \$5,000 on airlines that allow passengers to travel without proper documents. The new rules members of the European Community (EC) are imposing similar measures.

But so far, the main effect of the crackdown has simply been to shift the burden elsewhere. According to Jonas Widgren, UNHCR coordinator of inter-governmental consultations in Geneva, the European countries experiencing the largest increases in asylum seekers this year are Norway, the Netherlands and Switzerland, each of which still takes a relatively lenient approach to people claiming refugee status. Said Widgren: "We're very scared. Any decision taken by one country has an automatic effect on its neighbors."

Victims As the controversy increases, however, refugee workers in Europe voice fears that they are losing the battle for public opinion. "Of course there is some abuse of the system, but the account is grossly exaggerated," said Philip Ridge, general secretary of the London-based European Committee on Refugees and Exiles.

Ridge, whose group represents 45 human rights organizations across Europe, said that the widespread lack of sympathy for refugees is compounded by the fact that the EC countries established to investigate the asylum problem is also trying to halt terrorism and international drug trafficking. Said Ridge: "Third World refugees are the public mind that refugees are bad news, and that if you let them in, you are asking for trouble. When you think about it, that sort of attitude is really a case of blaming the victims."

—BOBBY LAYNE in London

Last August, Rajathurai drifted into Sri Lanka's Bay of the Netherlands in a dangerously overcrowded inflatable amid a blaze of international publicity. As one of 180 Hindu Tamils who had made a desperate journey across the Atlantic Ocean from West Germany, Rajathurai, 34, was part of the story that focused unprecedented attention on Canada's refugee policies. Now working as a machine operator in a Montreal plastic factory, Rajathurai has mixed feelings about the attention surrounding last summer's boat landing. Said Rajathurai "In one way, it helped to show Canadians about the atrocities committed by the government in Sri Lanka," a reference to the alleged misconduct of Sri Lanka's military forces in the country's civil war. But like many of Montreal's estimated 4,800 Tamils, Rajathurai says that he fears he may become a target of the growing resentment against refugee claimants in Canada.

One year after his arrival, Rajathurai said that his worst memories of the Atlantic crossing have faded. With the help of Montreal's Tamil community, Rajathurai has adopted some aspects of Canadian culture, including a fascination with professional wrestling. But like many of the Tamil refugees, Rajathurai still has not mastered English or French. And he disagrees with political developments in Sri Lanka, he hopes that the shaky truce that civil war will last and allow him to return.

Like the others, Rajathurai remains in Canada under a special ministerial permit issued on his arrival. The document, renewed for another year last month, allows him to work legally. But his long-term status remains in doubt. This month he and the other Tamils must decide whether to ask that their permits be renewed or to apply forcibly for refugee status.

He would never say that when he arrived in Newfoundland, the



Alampalai (left), Rajathurai at a baseball game: "we will go back"

Trying To Make A New Life

slightly built five-foot, three-inch Rajathurai lives in a two-bedroom apartment with three other Tamil refugees who accompanied him as the crossing. Located in Montreal's ethnically diverse Little-Bois district, the apartment is evidence of the conflicting influences tagging at the refugees. Above the English-language wrestling magazine spread out on a wooden coffee table is a wall calendar celebrating Tamil guerrillas killed in combat with the Sri Lankan government.

Risking that struggle prompted Rajathurai to leave Sri Lanka in 1983 for West Germany, where he applied for refugee status but was not allowed to come. Bored and fed up with cramped living conditions, he paid \$2,000 to make the risky voyage to Canada, where the Frontier Airways Rajathurai said the nightmares that

plagued him after the voyage stopped within a few weeks of his arrival in Canada. "I still remember being tossed about with no sign of land and thinking that I was going to die."

Rajathurai said that he is thankful for the support of his fellow Tamils in Canada. In Montreal, where 80 members of the group initially settled, he discovered a close-knit community served by stores that import familiar food, women and video cassettes of Tamil movies.

Still, Rajathurai admits that some Montreal Tamils were wary at at the publicity that followed the lifeboat landing. He said that they feared the attention would hurt the chances of other Tamils who want to immigrate to Canada. For that reason, some community leaders insist that no special attention be paid to the much-accosted group. Said Kavalai Kasaperumal, a former vice-president of the British Tamil Association of Quebec: "If Tamil refugees are working and being good citizens, that is all the welcome should care about."

Still, Tamils continue to arrive in Montreal every week, often using forged documents. But many remain in Toronto, where jobs are more plentiful and even rudimentary English skills are more valuable. According to Selva Ponnuchandran, a former president of the Montreal Tamil association, fewer than 20 of the 53 Tamils who originally settled in Montreal last August remain there.

For those who have stayed, the Tamil association offers language courses at its community centre, located in an old church building in downtown Montreal. And like his roommate Gunasegaran Alampalai, 25, who also made last summer's perilous voyage, Alampalai said he still hopes to return to Sri Lanka. Said Rajathurai: "We will go back when we are sure the fighting has stopped."

—ERICE WILLIAMS in Montreal

Waiting In A Cruel Limbo

For the world's estimated 12 million refugees, life can be a cruel passage. That is especially true for the 263,000 Cambodians who fled war and famine in their homeland and now languish in border camps inside Thailand. The Thai government will not take them in, fearing ethnic conflict. And Western countries, having absorbed thousands of thousands of Indochinese refugees during the 1970s, appear to have lost interest in them. Persecuted fleeing from inside Cambodia is a constant danger. Maclean's correspondent Mac Harter stated one camp, known as Site N, his report.

For Wan Seng, a 28-year-old Cambodian refugee living in a sweltering border camp in Thailand, hope is wrapped up in a handful of family photographs sent by his sister, Wan Kheng Sing, in Canada. The photos show a group of happy children in snowsuits perched on the hood of a new Honda. In the background stands a red brick factory beside a river. Wan had hoped that his sister would help her immigrate to Canada. But Thailand, trying to discourage Cambodians from using their country as a springboard to a new life in the West, has prohibited the 120,000 residents of Site N from applying for resettlement in another country.

Wan Now, with her mother works as a sewing machine operator in the Toronto suburb of Downsview. Wan spends her days in a bamboo and plastic tent, nursing a sick daughter and being her eight-year-old nephew's camp "We need medicine and food."

Said Wan, rocking three-month-old Maitrai in a cloth swing: "My brother-in-law said he'd get the whole family as soon as he is resettled to Canada. It's been two years."

Wan's sister said her family are among the 21,000 Indochinese refu-

gees who have settled in Canada since 1975, when more than a million Vietnamese, Cambodians and Laotians—spurred by oppression, civil war and famine—began to flee their homelands. Neighboring Thailand allowed the refugees to cross its borders but barred them into guarded

Those in other camps could be trapped indefinitely—Wan and her family among them.

The last she shares with her mother, daughter and husband, Seng Heng, 27, is like thousands of others in the camp: a flimsy thatched roof, bamboo walls, one bed, a small pile of clothing and some cooking pots on a dirt floor. When Seng returned from classes, where he is studying to become an electrician, a visitor asked if the family owned a radio. He laughed. There is no radio, no electricity, no money. Everything the family owns would fit in a couple of shopping bags. "I've lost three of my bags," said Wan. She stored them away. "Only I'm afraid about the shelling." On May 29 Vietnamese gunners bombarded the crowded border camp for the second time this year, killing six people and wounding 19.

Ordeals Wan's ordeal began in 1979, when Vietnamese troops overthrew Khmer Rouge dictator Pol Pot and a famine struck Cambodia at the same time. The family fled to the border, where relief organizations were supplying food. Later, Wan's sister escaped danger inside Thailand in the Khao I Dang camp, where refugees could be resettled for resettlement.

Wan remained at the border, waiting for another chance to arrive from Cambodia. The sister never arrived, and it is now too late. Khao I Dang was closed at the end of 1988.

In October, 1988, Wan's sister and her family arrived in Canada. Together with her husband, two children (a son, Chan, 4, and a daughter, Kachai, 1), a family friend and her 16-year-old brother, Seng, she lives in a room-mate-infested three-bedroom apartment in Downsview. Her husband, Kheng Chy, works at an auto parts



Refugees in Thai camp: "a life of fear, uncertainty and confinement"

camps until they could be resettled by the United States, Canada and other countries. Most of them have been swept aboard. But 367,000 Indochinese remain behind, and a baby boom in the camps increases the number by five per cent a year. Between 250 and 500 more Cambodian refugees arrive each month. Only those in camps run by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees are allowed to apply for resettlement abroad, and of these only about 20,000 received permission this year.

Facing A Future With Fewer People

"Our immigration policy should be directed in a positive sense, with the definite objective of enlarging the population of the country."

—Maclean's King, May, 1947

In the current future over the growing number of illegal immigrants arriving on Canadian shores, a prime minister who echoed Maclean's

population, too small and slow to maintain its current standard of living through the next century. For many, the answer is simple: a substantial increase in the number of immigrants allowed into the country each year.

Not everyone agrees with that solution. Some experts argue instead for programs to stimulate Canada's aging birthrate. Others warn that there will not be enough jobs for the new arrivals, and that opening the doors to a flood of non-white immigrants would increase racial tensions. Over the years successive federal governments have used a variety of "tap on/off" approaches, temporarily opening the doors wide to newcomers, and then all but slamming the doors shut when social or political problems surfaced. Immigration levels fluctuated accordingly—from a high of 323,000 in 1967 to a low of 80,000 in 1978. But now demographic experts contend that Ottawa urgently needs a consistent and long-term population strategy for the country, one not based on short-term political considerations.

Alarmingly, the demographic statistics are alarming. Canada's population—23,354,664 according to the 1986 census—has been growing at a steadily slower than four per cent annually since 1961. With current levels of immigration

and Canada's low fertility rate of 1.6 births per woman—well below the rate of 2.1 births needed to maintain population at steady levels—experts predict that the population will begin to decline by about the year 2025, after reaching a high of approximately 30 million. And that decline, many experts say, would mean dramatically slower economic growth.

Other observers warn of profound

consequences for Canada's cultural and political sovereignty if its population falls in proportion to that of the United States. Declared Carleton University political scientist Elliot Tepper, "All these people who say Canada should pay more attention to cultural sovereignty and political sovereignty in the free trade talks have ignored what we're doing to ourselves by having a lower-than-replacement birthrate." Regularly troubling Canadians over the age of 65 will likely comprise one-quarter of the population by about the same year, up sharply from 18 per cent in 1985. "The danger is that fewer and fewer younger people are going to have to do the productive labor to pay the

debt of the coming decline in population.

The federal government has clearly recognized that fact, but appears reluctant to take the decisive steps required in a 1986 annual report to Parliament on future immigration levels, which set a target of 115,000 to 120,000 newcomers for 1993. Immigration department officials admit, "It is vital that valuable time not be lost before the onset of projected population decline." Demographers and multicultural groups have urged levels of 200,000 to 300,000 or more immigrants annually by the end of the 1980s, but the government has not committed itself to such high levels.

Officials are now preparing new im-

migration levels and how higher immigration levels would change the ethnic character of the country.

Banishers Already, some government officials and academics are voicing concern about a possible racial backlash if dramatically higher numbers of non-white immigrants are allowed into the country. In April a *Livingston* poll showed that only 15 per cent of Canadians favored increased immigration levels, while 81 per cent favored reducing them or leaving them as they are. Says McGill's Weinfield, "It's not so much that politicians are racist—but there is the fear of racism, that the Canadian public may be racist." Indeed, the report of the 1985 royal commission on the



Newborns in nursery; urgent need for population policy

King's unqualified posture call for more immigration would certainly be taking a considerable political risk. But while the country's current immigration rates in Parliament and across the country, a quarter debate is under way about politicians and academics on a potentially more explosive issue. The problem unless swift action is taken, Canada faces the chilling prospect of a rapidly declining and aging



Weinfield (left), Tepper, concerns about slower economic growth, an aging population and racial tensions

social support costs for an increasing proportion of the aged.

At the same time, there are few signs that Canada and other Western nations will be able to reverse the trend toward lower birthrates. Changes in countries such as France to encourage couples to have more children have had little effect. In fact, says McGill University sociologist Morton Weinfield, this failure can be explained by resistance among women to resuming a traditional role as childbearers. Declared Weinfield, "The fertility strategy is impractical, mainly as a result of the women's movement and the transformation of our society as a result of that." Demographers have concluded that, if the birthrate remains low, there is no alternative to increased immigration levels to

migration levels for the 1986-1990 period. But it is expected that the 1986 figure—to be approved by cabinet and announced at the end of October—will be no more than 120,000 to 175,000. Indeed, the immigration department's policy development director, Chris Taylor, said last week that accepting numbers substantially higher than 200,000 a year could overtax the country's capacity to integrate new arrivals.

Changer Major changes in policy are unlikely before the end of 1989, when a three-year demographic study commissioned by the health and welfare department is to be completed. The \$2.4-million study is designed to answer fundamental questions about the long-term implications of changes in the size and makeup of Canada's population—including the effect of immigration as so-

recovery headed by former finance minister Donald Macdonald, called the changing race relations that have resulted from increased immigration "potentially explosive."

Still, Immigration Minister Benoît Bourdard told the House of Commons on Aug. 11 that the government remains committed to "steady growth" in immigration levels. And the minister rejected suggestions that voters would not accept substantially increased numbers of newcomers. Indeed, Bourdard said, "I think Canadians will understand that immigration has to be increased." In light of Canada's need for more people, the response to Bourdard's challenge may have profound implications for the future of the country.

—MICHAEL ROSE in Ottawa

Confronting the Red Chamber

Canada's Senate was barely a week into its first sitting when some members of the Red Chamber began complaining that they had nothing to do. It was Nov. 15, 1987, and Liberal Senator David Christie said that the people's unelected representatives might as well take a week's holiday. But Conservative Senator David Macpherson expressed concern about public opinion. According to the minutes of that day, "Mr. Macpherson said the House ought to be careful not to create the impression that its presence was not required." More than a century later, Canadians are still debating the utility of the Senate. As York University professor Ramsey Cook, one of the country's leading historians, told a parliamentary committee last week, "Almost since the day after Confederation we have had discussion on reform of the Senate—and with no result."

Last week the possibility of reform loomed larger than at any time in the history of the Senate. On June 3 Prime Minister Brian Mulroney and the 50 premiers agreed as part of the Meech Lake constitutional accord to try a new method of making Senate appointments, at least for an interim period. They are scheduled to meet again next year to discuss further reforms. Public hearings on the proposals began two weeks ago and will continue all Sept. 15.

The hearings took on a special relevance last week as a bitter feud raged between the Senate and the House of Commons. The Liberal-dominated Senate passed amendments on Aug. 13 that, if allowed to stand, would effectively gut a bill passed by the Conservative majority in the Commons. The bill is designed to give brand-name prescription drug manufacturers better protection for their products of cheaper generic copies. It was the third time since the Tories came to power in 1985 that the unelected Senate has tried to thwart the elected Commons. Consumer and Corporate Affairs Minister Marvin Axworthy said reporters, "The elected body should have the right to have its views prevail."

Indeed, the government vowed last week to oppose the Senate amendments and return the original bill to the upper chamber. At that point, senators would have the option of returning or dropping the amendments. Under the Senate proposals,

patent protection for multinational drug producers would be reduced to four years, as opposed to 10 years in the government bill. At the same time, it would increase the royalties that generic firms pay for the right to make cheaper copies of drugs—to

40% that the legislation would increase the cost of drugs to consumers by hundreds of millions of dollars a year—a view that commands support from both Liberal and New Democratic Party MPs.

Parliamentary officials declared



Reformed (left) Andre; Macpherson, unless they agree, the two houses are scheduled to meet showdown in 40 years

14 per cent from four per cent. Unless the Senate backs down, the bill could die. But Liberal Senator Louis Bouché, chairman of the Senate committee that drafted the amendments, gave no indication that he was ready to yield to the government. Said Bouché: "We're not backing down and we haven't lost any resolve. We're going all the way."

The outcome of the battle could go well beyond drug legislation. Last week U.S. officials declared that the free trade negotiations with Canada could falter unless Ottawa guaranteed better patent protection for multinational drug producers. The Conservative government, however, denies that its bill represents a concession to U.S. pressure. Instead, it maintains that the patent protection is necessary if Canada is ever to lure a large chunk of the millions of dollars in research and development now spent by drug producers in other countries. But Liberal senators pre-

last week that unless the Commons and the Senate reached a compromise, they were heading for their worst showdown in 40 years. The only way out of the impasse would be for the two houses to convene what is known as a free conference, in which three or more representatives of each chamber would negotiate a compromise. The conference has not been used since 1947, when the two chambers disagreed over Criminal Code legislation. Andre, however, said that he had no desire to enter a conference and he urged Allan Macpherson, the former senior cabinet minister who is now Liberal leader in the Senate, to change his mind. Andre pointedly added, "Allan Macpherson is as long as deputy prime minister."

For his part, Commons Speaker Jack Fraser was sitting cautiously. He summoned aides to brief him on the matter, but conference members might be found few who were knowledgeable on the subject. Said one

highly placed Commons official: "There are a lot of people working in the clerk's office, trying to get this straightened out."

In the search for precedents, some politicians were even consulting the 1946 thesis of a University of British Columbia political science student named John Turner. The Liberal leader earned his honors degree with a two-volume study of the workings of the Senate. He concluded his effort by



Reformed (left) Andre; Macpherson, unless they agree, the two houses are scheduled to meet showdown in 40 years

writing: "The problem of the Senate has confounded Canadian statesmen since Confederation." Turner now says that the way to solve that problem is to have an elected Senate.

For the most part, the public only learns about the Senate when it uses its powers to block Commons bills—instead of applying its usual rubber stamp. These confrontations occur most frequently when different parties form a majority in each House. Turner's university thesis noted that the Senate assumed its rights to amend bills most often from 1896 to 1903 and from 1911 to 1936, when the Liberals formed a majority in one chamber and the Conservatives in the other.

Since 1984, when that situation was recreated, the Senate has played havoc with the Conservative government's agenda. In 1985 it delayed a borrowing bill for five weeks, then, on July 2, it forced a Commons vote to tighten parole provisions. The 69 Senate Liberals in the 104-seat cham-

ber can easily hamstring government bills because there are only 30 Conservatives in the chamber. (Six are independents, one is an independent Liberal, and two seats are vacant.)

At one point during the controversy over the borrowing bill, Mulroney raised the possibility of abolishing the Senate. In the Meech Lake accord, he struck a deal with the premiers under which the Prime Minister would consult provincial governments before appointing senators. A constitutional conference in 1987 is to be held next year to find permanent ways of re-vamping the upper chamber. Among the key proposals to be discussed will be the Alberta government's drive for a so-called Triple E Senate—a body that would be elected, contain equal numbers from each province and thus be more effective.

The Meech Lake Senate proposals have grown decidedly more realistic. Testifying last week before the parliamentary committee holding public hearings on the issue, former Conservative leader and Nova Scotia premier Robert Stanfield endorsed the proposal for provincial guidance as Senate appointments. Said Stanfield: "After all, the Senate was intended to be a forum that would consider regional concerns." But as earlier conference winners, retired senator Eugene Forsey, condemned the proposal. One of the country's leading constitutional experts, Forsey said that Canada would be stuck with the interim system for making Senate appointments because unanimous consent of all the provinces would be needed before further changes could be made. The chances of achieving such consent, he said, were "microscopic."

Under the current system, being appointed to the Senate has often been deemed to winning a lottery. Seniors such as Harold Aylesworth and have an expense allowance of \$9,000. They receive generous pension benefits and, unlike MPs, cannot be removed under the compulsory retirement age of 75. As Liberal Senator David Stewart said last week, "I can't say I've never been elected because I've got a lifetime contract—almost. I'm here until I'm 75 or dead, whichever comes first."

The quality of Senate appointments, and the chamber's ability to frustrate the will of elected politicians, has troubled Canadians for decades. Last week's warms were evident even in 1982 when Senator Macpherson said that the upper chamber should attempt to give itself "a firm place in the confidence of the country." More than a century later, Canada's politicians are still trying to achieve that elusive goal.

—PHIL GORZELAC, in Ottawa

Turner's troubles

The parliamentary agenda was crowded with issues of national concern. But as the House of Commons reconvened last week for an emergency session, Liberal leader John Turner had more on his mind than did elections and drug patent laws. At Mulroney's principal secretary and close friend, Douglas Richardson, resigned. The next day Turner accepted the resignation of Sharma Scheller, the party's national campaign director. Last April Scheller said that he wanted to study theology (full time sessions) and two public affairs posts, one by Gallup and one by Angus Reid Associates Inc., confirmed that the Liberals remain in second place behind the New Democrats. The last poll also indicated that the Liberal party would be in first place if former MP Jean Chrétien led the party instead of Turner. Said pollster Reid: "John Turner is presently one of the major obstacles to increased Liberal support."

Many disgruntled Liberals blame the party's standing on confusion within Turner's office—and what they consider to be Turner's own inability to take charge of the party. Much of the criticism of Turner's office was aimed at Richardson, a politician lawyer and former Liberal candidate who was named as Harold Aylesworth's successor. Richardson's resignation is far the best, said one Liberal MP. "Doug was a super guy but he didn't have the political nous to do the job." Officials close to Richardson said that he was tired of the job and that he was fed up with Turner's office. He said he was frustrated that his advice was not being accepted. Some reports said that Richardson left partly because of policy differences with Turner. Richardson himself said only that "if there were differences between the leader and myself, I can't say I'm going to quit, but continue to support John Turner as the best person to lead this party."

Senior Liberals said that more people will likely follow Richardson's lead, including Michelle Tremblay, an adviser for Quebec affairs, and policy adviser Charles Gillingham. For Turner, the aide said that the Liberal leader believes he can survive his current problems and that a revitalized office will put the party back on track. Said the aide: "Anyone who says that Turner is going to resign is whistling while he goes to get to his job. It's just not going to happen."

—MARC CLARK, in Ottawa

Battles on the waterfront

During the campaign for the 1972 federal election, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau made an unusual pledge to the voters of Toronto: Ottawa, he declared, would assemble a 50-acre parcel of decaying downtown real estate to enable city planners to

John Sewell, who served as a reformist mayor of Toronto from 1970 to 1980. "Toronto city hall is a place where developers get what they want."

On the surface, Harbourfront is a problem that other cities might envy. With nearly \$136 million in federal

cash, federal authorities decided in April to stop their own freeze on Harbourfront construction until the completion of a review of the activities of Harbourfront Corp., the Crown agency in charge of the project.

Critics blame Harbourfront's problems partly on a lack of supervision by state or federal officials, as well as on decisions made nearly a decade ago, when the original plan for a waterfront park evolved into a more complex mixed-use vision. As well, Harbourfront Corp. was ordered to become self-financing by 1987, a requirement, critics charge, that forced the corporation to aggressively lease building rights to commercial developers. Now, some critics say that they fear the same kinds of planning errors could be repeated in the major development projects planned for Toronto.

City council's ultimatum to Ottawa was that Harbourfront impose new eight- or 10-story height limitations on future buildings and immediately

transfer ownership to Toronto of 6.5 acres of existing parkland—as proof of Ottawa's good faith. In effect, city council has dumped the issue into the lap of Multiculturalism Minister David Crombie, another former mayor of Toronto (1970-1979), who is principal advisor to the federal cabinet on Harbourfront. But Crombie told *Maclean's* that Ottawa is unlikely to respond to Toronto's demands until next month.

At the same time, there were signs that Toronto mayor Arthur Eggleton, a staunch supporter of Harbourfront development in the past, had found the criticism directed at the project to be a distracting experience. "Too much is being done too fast," Eggleton noted at the height of the controversy. "We need to put the brakes on and ensure that we are not losing control." For developers that could mean much closer scrutiny from city authorities in the future.

—MARK NICHOLS with STEVEN ABERNETHY and ANN SPITZBERG in Toronto



Harbourfront highrises; Eggleton (below) 'Too much is being done, too fast'

fill a long-standing vision for an expansion of parkland along the city's waterfront. Since then, six high-rise buildings and only 17 acres of park have emerged on the site, and Harbourfront—as the project is called—has become the focus of a complex political battle in Canada's largest urban area. In an effort to force a solution, Toronto city council last week voted 17 to 6 to end a six-month-old freeze on Harbourfront construction—providing that Ottawa impose tough new legends and density restrictions on Harbourfront buildings and make a start on fulfilling Toronto's demand for 40 acres of waterfront parkland.

That could mean that federal officials will now have to satisfy Toronto's demands—or face possible legal action over the six building projects stalled by the dispute. The debate echoed the battle cry of the urban political warfare that gripped Toronto in the 1970s, when a broadly based residents' movement struggled successfully to preserve downtown neighborhoods from commercial redevelopment. Now, with fast-growing Toronto simultaneously experiencing a building boom and a critical shortage of affordable housing, critics claim that developers may once be gaining the upper hand. Said

funding, the development has transformed the city's Lake Ontario waterfront area into a lively mile-wide strip of high-rise towers, condominiums, hotels and restored older buildings. A magnet for both Toronto residents and tourists, it attracted 3.4 million visitors last year.

Despite that, the project came under withering criticism last summer as a result of the concentration of three high-rise condominium towers that loom starkly above a waterfront esplanade. Decried by critics as unsightly, the buildings focused attention on other Harbourfront activities—including alleged sweetheart deals for favored developers—and cast doubt on some of the project's basic goals. Although Harbourfront has a mandate to provide accommodation for low- and middle-income earners, speculation in waterfront real estate doubled the price of some condominiums to more than \$300,000 from \$90,000 in a three-year period. Faced with mounting cri-



—MARK NICHOLS with STEVEN ABERNETHY and ANN SPITZBERG in Toronto

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Apartheid and diplomacy

There had been every indication that the meeting between External Affairs Minister Joe Clark and South Africa's Foreign Minister Roelof (Phe) Botha on Aug. 14 would be both brief and uncomplicated. Instead, the encounter lasted an hour longer than its scheduled time of 30 minutes. And when the two statesmen emerged from Botha's office in the pained elegance of Pretoria's Union Buildings into the early drizzle of the South African winter, their mood seemed surprisingly relaxed. But Botha made it clear that the meeting had done nothing to shake apartheid, the South African system that denies political rights to its 26 million native blacks and concentrates power in the hands of the million whites. Indeed, leaving Canada's office of interviewing in South African affairs, Botha declared, "I told Mr. Clark we are not prepared to capitulate."

For Clark, it was the last in a series of trials and divisive gestures last week, indicating that white South Africans were far from contemplating concessions to his anti-apartheid policies. Only the day before, a pro-government newspaper, the Johannesburg Citizen, had at the same in a personal attack on his visit, telling him to "get lost." At the same time, South African President Pieter Botha delivered his own warning against what he called "foreign interference," adding in a speech that he might resist the movement of foreign diplomats who appear to challenge apartheid. Still, the meeting in Pretoria was a critical element in a visit intended to provide fresh direction for Canada's faltering diplomatic drive to end apartheid.

Economic sanctions against South Africa, approved last year at Canada's urging by a non-unanimous Commons-wisdom leaders, have been unevenly applied. Others are now expected to propose new initiatives against apartheid when it hosts two international seminars later this year. Most much Prime Minister Brian Mulroney is scheduled to set an chairman of an international gathering

of francophone nations in Quebec City, and in October he plans to play the same role at a meeting of Commonwealth leaders in Vancouver. It was in an urgent search for ways to maintain at least the appearance of momentum to Canada's anti-apartheid campaign—the centerpiece of Canadian diplomacy in Africa—that Clark last week visited four countries in as many days.

His 18-hour visit to Pretoria, however, only confirmed the profound differences that separate apartheid's white South African supporters from their opponents. Botha told Clark that Pretoria

Mulroney fired the campaign's opening salvo in a speech to the United Nations in October, 1985. The Prime Minister threatened to impose widening economic sanctions and possibly break off diplomatic relations with South Africa. Then, in August, 1986, he led a group of other Commonwealth heads of state in an attempt to persuade British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to impose sweeping sanctions against South Africa. The attempt failed, but in its wake Canada and most other Commonwealth nations banned imports of South African coal, textiles and agricultural goods.

some South African products, notably clothing, had tripped in the past year. Several times last week Clark declared that Canada was ready to consider further economic and diplomatic sanctions against Pretoria. But privately he offered some caveats: that the changes are limited. One senior foreign policy adviser commented: "The trade we have with South Africa is huge—about as far as it can be what else do you tell."

Meanwhile, the atmosphere surrounding Canada's South African policy at times bordered on the bizarre last week. Even as Clark prepared for his meeting with Botha, a delegation of Canadian Indians, visiting at South African government expense, accused Canada of failing to treat its own aboriginal minority fairly. In a remark widely spread at Clark and Mulroney, Gerald Wootton, a former chief of Saskatchewan's Red Pheasant band, said, "Instead of going around the world solving its problems, let them clean up their own back-

yard." The accident led Botha to accuse Canada of "racist attitudes" toward its Indians. As well, Clark's meeting with Botha was bedeviled by the disclosure of a stunning proposal by Conservative Tories: to send David Brokensha, who urged that Canada and other Western nations send a military force to "take over" Mozambique and assume direction of the economy in other southern African nations, in order to isolate South Africa.

As well, Clark was unable to find a consensus during his stopovers in black African capitals on his way to Pretoria. In Addis, Eritrean President Fikile Hailmariam-Degefu told Clark that he did not favor further sanctions against South Africa, and he urged Canada to maintain diplomatic relations with Pretoria. In the Zambian capital of Lusaka, Clark received different advice from President Kenneth Kaunda and chief executives of the African National Congress (ANC), the outlawed black South African organization resisting apartheid. Kaunda told Clark to press ahead

with additional sanctions, while ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo advised Canada to break off all ties with South Africa.

Still, Clark and Mulroney will have to decide on policy by the Sept. 2 opening of the francophone conference. Whatever its shape, their approach is certain to provoke controversy. But during last week's stop in Maputo, the capital of Mozambique, Clark may have indicated his preferred direction. Not explicitly on economic sanctions and more help for the beleaguered frontline states bordering South Africa. Clark visited Mozambique, not a Commonwealth member, to send an observer to the association's Vancouver summit in October. And although he refused to comment Canada's continuing sanctions against South Africa, Clark did sign an old package that will deliver food aid worth \$15 million to Mozambique's war- and drought-ravaged people.

—CERES WOOD • CLARENCE MACKENZIE is Ottawa and CYRIL BRADY is Johannesburg



Clark and 'Phe' Botha in Pretoria, a pessimistic assessment that was a discouraging outcome.

was not ready to speed up the process of reform, in which the government has abolished some discriminatory laws but continues to deny political power to the black majority. Sad Roelof. "I told him we had gone as far as we can." Earlier in the day Clark had met Allan Boesak, leader of the anti-apartheid United Democratic Front, who cited what he called the "turbulent reality" of South Africa. Road Block, a street-wise clergyman. "All of the avenues of nonviolent resistance have been closed down, have been outlawed."

For Clark, Botha's pessimistic assessment was a discouraging outcome to two years of maneuvering to mobilize opposition to apartheid. Prime Minister

But these measures have not weakened South Africa's resolve. Indeed, the country's neighbors accuse Pretoria of sponsoring a wave of destabilizing violence across southern Africa. At the same time, rebel reports from Africa and Canada further underlined the limited impact of sanctions. In Zimbabwe the government of Prime Minister Robert Mugabe was forced to drop proposed new sanctions after weighing their potentially devastating effect on Zimbabwe's own economy. And in Ottawa Statistics Canada reported that despite an overall drop in trade between Canada and South Africa to \$80 million in the first quarter of 1987 from \$174.4 million in the same period of 1986, purchases of

SOUTH AFRICA

A strike at a nation's heart

When a quarter of a million black miners went on strike last week at some of South Africa's richest gold and coal mines, the action struck directly at the heart of the country's racially divided economy. Estimates of the extent of the strike by members of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) varied. The union claimed that 350,000 workers at 52 mines and allied companies were off the job, but spokesmen for the Chamber of Mines, an employers' group, estimated that the strike involved only 250,000 workers at 35 of the 60 mines. But there was no question about the week-long wage disparity at the centre of the dispute: on average, black miners earn between \$195 and \$355 (Rands) a month, only one-fifth of the amount that white miners earn. Equally clear was that—by either side's estimate—the strike represented a new high-water mark for white-riled South Africa's increasingly militant black unions.

The NUM unleashed its strike on Aug. 30 to support demands for wage increases of 30 per cent or more for danger pay for miners. And it was a force to be reckoned with. For its part, the Chamber of Mines



Miners at Klerks: a new high-water mark for the militant black unions

and that it would not increase wages granted in July that improved black miners' pay by up to 23 per cent. At stake, however, was far more than the firm's standard of 860,000 black miners. The country relies on gold and coal exports for more than 60 per cent of its foreign exchange. And for decades, the mines have relied on cheap black labor to maintain profits. As a result, last week's strike, the most extensive since blacks won the right to form unions in 1978, took on a distinct political edge. Defiant NUM spokesman Muzi Goniwe said: "We are now a force to be reckoned with."

Confronted with losses from inter-

rupted gold production of about \$50 million a day, authorities reacted quickly. By midweek most mines, ringed with armed security men and police, resembled military installations. And when one miner who had continued working was strangled with a stolen bagpipe, police arrested 76 mine leaders on charges of conspiracy to commit murder.

As the week ended, violent clashes between miners and security forces left at least 258 people injured. And with no resolution to the dispute in sight, South Africa's young labor movement had clearly shown its ability to flex political—as well as physical—muscle. ◇

Time bombs in the ocean

The American-owned, Panamanian-registered supertanker *Texas Caribbean* took on a full load of crude oil last week at Iraq's Larak Island terminal at the southern end of the Persian Gulf. Then, half a day's sail away and 12 miles off the United Arab Emirates port of Fujairah in the Gulf of Oman, the 254,000-ton ship struck a mine—at the very site where convoys of reflagged Kuwaiti tankers assemble for their 800-mile voyage north to Kuwait under U.S. naval protection. The blast ripped a 15-foot hole in the tanker's port side, spewing enormous slicks of black oil into the sea. Later, sailors spotted at least four more mines bobbing among the tankers outside the crowded port. There was widespread suspicion that Iran had placed the mines to assault the U.S. fleet off Fujairah. Some of those mines were anchored to the ocean floor, although the one that struck the *Texas Caribbean* may have been afloat. But, said a Western military source in the region, "the chances of it drifting there by accident [against the current] are one in a million."

The presence of mines in the Gulf of Oman signalled a dangerous new escalation in the so-called "tanker war," in which shipping on both sides of the Iran-Iraq conflict has undergone attacks. In the Persian Gulf, which is linked to the Gulf of Oman by the narrow Strait of Hormuz—mines have plagued international shipping for several weeks. On the first U.S.-escorted convoy of reflagged Kuwaiti ships through the Gulf last month, the supertanker *Brindage* struck a mine about 180 miles southeast of Kuwait. And last week the second convoy was delayed for 36 hours off the coast of Bahrain when a mine was seen in its path. The ships were able to proceed safely to Kuwait only after a U.S. navy towed an offshore supply vessel into a makeshift mine buster at the head of the convoy.

The blast that damaged the *Texas Caribbean* in the Gulf of Oman—thought to be a safe haven until last week—produced swift international repercussions. The following day both Britain and France reversed previous policy and announced their intention to send minesweepers to the region. Said British Defence Minister George Younger, "Yesterday put a very different complexion on the issue."

The *Texas Caribbean* incident came just two days after reports of the first clash between U.S. and Iranian forces

in the skies over the Persian Gulf. According to White House and defence department officials, a U.S. navy jet fired two missiles at an Iranian F-4 fighter-bomber that had apparently ignored warnings to stay clear of a U.S. patrol plane in the area. The Iranian



Damaged supertanker in Gulf of Oman: a new and dangerous escalation in the war

almost evaded the missiles, averting a situation that could have embroiled the United States directly in the Iran-Iraq war.

At the same time, Iraq's resumption of air strikes against Iranian oil tankers, after a 25-day lull, sparked fears that an already tense Gulf situation would be even more acutely aggravated. More than 100 Iraqi war-



Mine in Gulf of Oman: repercussions

planes attacked oil refineries at Tabriz in northern Iran and five other sites in central and southern regions of the country. Baghdad vowed to continue the attacks until Tehran accepts a United Nations Security Council resolution—passed unanimously on July 31—that calls for a ceasefire in the seven-year-old war.

In response, Tehran warned that it would retaliate against shipping in the Persian Gulf if the Iraqi strikes con-

tinued. As well, Iranian officials not only denied responsibility for the mines in the Gulf of Oman but accused the Americans—or their agents—of placing them. It is a bid to brighten tensions. "The Iranians also undermined the growing Western naval presence."

In announcing the British decision to send four minesweepers to the region, Younger said that the ships would protect under British command and would "accompany" British merchant shipping only. Privately, British officials said that they did not want to be seen as endorsing President Ronald Reagan's Gulf policy, which they regard as reckless. Still, opposition Labour spokesman Donald Anderson called the decision "a grave and alarming development." Said Anderson, "The danger is that we shall be sucked deeper and deeper into a conflict we cannot control." At week's end, as another mine destroyed the supply vessel *Karza* near Fujairah, leaving six crewmen dead, five injured and five missing, that seemed all too likely.

—ANDREW DENNIS with ROSS LAYNE in London and correspondents' reports

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The scandal that Reagan cannot kill

Less than 24 hours after President Ronald Reagan went on television last night to announce the Iran-contra affair to history, he narrowly avoided disaster in California when a small private plane flew within 150 feet of his helicopter. His tv address was less fortunate: it failed to provide the final word on the scandal that has plagued his administration since last November. Although Reagan assumed blame for the covert arms program, his rapidly delivered 18-minute speech left

many key questions unanswered. And, in contrast to the often-starring testimony by Secretary of State George Shultz and first National Security Council aide Lt. Col. Oliver North before the joint congressional committee exploring the affair, the former actor's performance was flat. Said conservative fund-raiser Richard Vigorini: "He should have had Oliver North write his speech, but instead he's on the defensive and his supporters are discouraged and losing heart. It was bland, bland, bland, boring, boring, boring."

Despite three months of televised testimony before the committees, facts as known about Reagan's involvement and actions at the time when his administration embarked on an arms-for-hostages swap with Iran, which evolved into a funding program for the U.S.-backed army attempting to overthrow Iran's government. Last week Reagan again denied knowledge of the contra funding and blamed his emotions for the dealings with Iran. Said Reagan: "I let my preoccupation with the hostages intrude into areas where it didn't belong. The image, the reality, of Americans in chains, deprived of their freedom and families as far from home, awakened my thoughts."

Although the speech was Reagan's first attempt to deal with the congressional hearings, which often gripped the public, he made only one reference to hundreds of hours of testimony. Former national security adviser Paul Wolfowitz had testified that he had not told Reagan that profits from the Iranian arms sales were being diverted to the

Nicaraguan contras because he wanted to protect him from political attack should the secret plans leak out. At the time of the diversion, Congress had banned direct or indirect aid to the contras. Reagan said that Wolfowitz was wrong to leave him in the dark. Said the President: "The buck does not stop with Admiral Poindexter, as he stated in his testimony. It stops with me."

Reagan's failure to address the question of looking back by his staff may have influenced an ABC News overnight

budget. But he attached a condition: the offer will stand only if Congress votes an amendment to the authorization requiring a balanced budget every year. Democrats swiftly pointed out that a similar amendment in 1984 failed to pass despite Republican control of the Senate. Declared House Majority Leader Thomas Foley, a Democrat from Washington state: "If the President really wants to address the budget, we're willing to do it. But talk about a constitutional amendment is just a p.r. off."

Reagan also faces a tough struggle as two other goals outlined in his speech. For one thing, many senators have already said that the President's Supreme Court nominee, Robert Bork—a conservative, right-wing judge—will require an extensive interrogation at confirmation hearings this fall. For another, although Reagan welcomed a proposed Central American peace plan reached earlier this month in Guatemala, he also pledged not to abandon the contras. But the current U.S. aid program to the rebel troops runs out at the end of September. Reagan is expected to ask Congress for an additional \$200 million after his vacation. That request will meet strong congressional resistance.

During the week-end on Aug. 18, as the presidential helicopter was carrying Reagan from Los Angeles to his mountainous ranch near Santa Barbara, the helicopter pilot took evasive action, and no one else on board was immediately aware of the incident. Secret service agents questioned the pilot of the single-engine Piper Archer, but later released him, and a spokesman said that there was "no evidence of criminal intent." But unlike that incident, the Iran-contra affair will not go away. Indeed, probable criminal indictments by special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh and the release of the congressional committee's findings this fall will both keep the scandal swirling around Reagan. Said Ernest May, a Harvard University historian: "It will be with him until the day he leaves office."

Almost two-thirds of Reagan's speech turned away from the scandal and dealt with his plans for the remaining 17 months of his presidency. But, with the possible exception of an agreement to eliminate nuclear-range missiles with the Soviet Union, few observers expected much hope of success for Reagan's goals. In an attempt to break the bitter standoff between the White House and Congress, Reagan offered to open every spending item to negotiation—including the over-saved military



Reagan during speech, less fortunate than the airborne crash with crash

telephone poll in which only 66 per cent said that they were satisfied with his explanation. But 63 per cent of the 512 people polled maintained that Reagan knew about the diversion of funds to the contras. The most heartening development for the President, 80 per cent said that the affair should be put into the past.

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—DAN KURTEN in Washington

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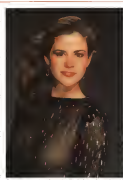
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STUDYING WORLD'S BUSINESSES

Playing a servant in the recent movie *Maid to Order* taught **Amy Sherry** some lessons: "Maid's have a harder job than you might expect," said the 45-year-old member of the Best Pack of young Hollywood stars. She portrays a spoiled heiress forced to take a job as a maid after a fiery grandmother decides to teach her a lesson. Although the role did not turn Sherry into a compulsive housecleaner, she admitted, "It really started to bug me if there were things left lying around the house."

A press secretary to Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, Quebec journalist Michel Grefton had a insider's look at the Tory government. But Grefton's alleged March 1990 meeting with two female reporters raised the question of whether he had secretly written them. Now he has written a book, *So What Are the Dogs Barking?*, to be published in October, about his 30 months with Mulroney. He says that he will tell all—except the names of Grefton's sources. Stand one member of the Prime Minister's Office, who refused to be identified: "If he mentions one word about me, I'll sue," Grefton, 38, said this



Sheep: a spotted Beverly Hills hair salon

several nervous PRS0 aides—and reporters—had inquired about the book. He added, "I'm not worried—this is the book that I wanted to write."

The star of the recent *The Dish* (cable and *No Way Out*), Kevin Costner, is emerging as one of Hollywood's brightest



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years. That is a special triumph for the 32-year-old actor because many of his early roles—including one in *The Godfather*—were up on the cutting-room floor. Costner has made up for these setbacks with commanding performance as the unsparingly honest lawman Eliot Ness and as a young army officer investigating a murder in the just-released *Charlie Wa Wa* Gap. Cost: \$2 million. **Star Costner:** "The tendency is a lot of young actors in to say, 'I want to be a star.' I don't think how hard it is to be a star is anywhere on their back."

A group of Newfoundland feminists recently went on tour in a rented school bus to encourage more women to run for public office. Singing, "We are 53 per cent of the population,"

we only get our way, we'll make a better nation," to the tune of an outback ballad, the women drivers sang their message to the men. The provincial legislature started this month. Although women make up 68 per cent of Newfoundland's population, only one woman sits in its 28-member legislature. Organisers had to delay their outing until they found a female bus driver. Said provincial New Democratic Party official **Donna Ingalls**, 61: "We were not going to make this trip with a male driver, not after advocating that women take on nontraditional jobs." Added Ingalls: "The young lady we hired wasn't too sure about this cause at first—but by the end of the trip she was like a rose in bloom."

Many spectators at the Winter Olympic Arts Festival in Calgary next February will be cheering for competing poets in a contest called Poetry Slamming. The event has attracted some spectators from every province and territory, says **John and Jani Coleman**, the Toronto twins who have spent much of the summer hosting cross-country poetry slams in the Yukon. "I was at Coleman's last stop in Yellowknife last week. So competitors had 30 minutes to write a poem based on a read from a Robert Zimmerman poem each had drawn out of a hat. The winning victim, Tessa, who's an officer in the RCMP, was 30, who wrote about love's gold, says that she has high hopes for the finals. She added, "The contest is on my husband's birthday, and I have told him I'm bringing home a gold medal as a prize."

During a 15-year hockey career in the Montreal Canadiens' front line, Larry Robinson escaped serious injury. But earlier this month his back ran out in another opening contest. In his 36th, fractured his right leg after it was crushed between two burses during a pile muck to Hudson, Que. Following surgery, Robinson is expected to require a long period to correct the break, he will likely miss the first two months of the 1987-88 schedule. Said Habs' managing director, Jacques Lussier, "He's the only player who played pain, and I don't expect there will be others." But Toronto Maple Leafs coach John Strapp, asked if he would allow any of his starters to play during the off-season, said, "None of our players are allowed to."

—continued on VOLUME ONE

Capital developments

Among his advances within the Toronto financial community, Paul Reichman is known as "Mr. R" or simply "the man." He is also recognized as the entrepreneurial genius behind the phenomenal success of Oxyap & York Developments Ltd. (OAY), the world's largest real estate empire, which he runs with brothers Albert and Ralph. Over the past two years Paul Reichman has masterminded two multi-billion-dollar megadeals on the takeover of Gulf Canada Ltd. in 1986 and Hiram Walker Resources Ltd. in 1986. During the past month the Reichmans have completed two deals that reflect their status as world-class entrepreneurs. First they took over London's faltering \$6.3-billion Canary Wharf project, Europe's largest real estate development. And a \$517.5-million share offering in newly reorganized Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. created a splash in the emerging domestic and foreign markets.

The Canary Wharf deal and the Gulf share offering would clearly ease any lingering



Battery Park project: Paul Reichman (top), Albert Reichman, multi-billion-dollar megadeals

Ralph, 55—renown, enigmatic, fiercely who cherish their privacy. They avoid publicity and the press—unless control fits with their plans. The Reichmans have never revealed their personal worth or the value of their real estate and natural resources empire. The family's vast holdings are controlled by OAY Developments, which is a private company and as a result does not have an obligation to disclose its asset values, revenues, profits or debts.

Likewise, the brothers do not have to reveal their long-range goals or objectives. But most observers conclude that the Reichmans are attempting to build a durable company by investing their real estate earnings in natural resource companies. Said Andrew Sarkis, a Toronto investment manager and family friend: "I think they will continue both the diversification and at the same time exploit the opportunities in the real estate sector."

The Reichmans firmly originated in

Hungary but migrated to Vienna, then Paris, and finally Tangier, Morocco, during the two decades decade prior to 1960. In 1964 the family moved to Toronto and launched a tile importing business, which eventually led them into real estate. Currently, OAY controls an estimated 50 million square feet of office space in major cities across North America, including Dallas, Portland, Ore., and San Francisco. One of their landmarks is the 78-story First Canadian Place in downtown Toronto, which contains the sensitive offices of the Bank of Montreal.

Another Reichman landmark, the World Financial Centre in lower Manhattan, is nearing completion. In 1983 a New York state agency selected the firm over a dozen other bid holders to develop the so-called Battery Park City site. Last week the same firm was selected to develop into the fourth and final office tower in the \$2-billion, eight-million-square-foot complex, although the

project will not be officially completed until next spring. The Reichmans in June have signed up a number of prestigious tenants, including American Express Co. and Merrill Lynch & Co., Inc., and eventually about 30,000 people will work in the four towers, which range from 30 to 60 stories.

The brothers also own another 11 buildings in New York. Indeed, since 1984 they have been the largest private

owners of office space in the city, now holding 54 million of the 300 million square feet in New York. Their portfolio still includes six of the eight buildings that they purchased in 1977 for \$426 million when the city was in the midst of a severe economic downturn. That transaction, later described by real estate experts as "the deal of the century," firmly established the brothers' reputation as shrewd and daring operators.

Earlier this year, OAY announced another project that will alter the face of New York. The company has reached an agreement with Gulf and Western Industries Inc., owner of Madison Square Garden, to build a new 520,000-sq-ft arena several blocks from the existing building. Then OAY will erect 4.5 million square feet of office space on the present Garden site. "The project is still at a very early stage," said OAY's New York spokesman Peter Rosenthal. "It is too too early to talk about costs or completion dates."

For the time being, Canary Wharf is the major Reichman project. It was originally conceived in 1984 by American developer G. W. Whitely, who lined up a consortium of U.S. and Swiss investment banks to finance the undertaking. He planned to build 4.5 million square feet of office space, 500,000 square feet of retail space and two 400-room hotels on 71 acres of abandoned land in East London. The \$6.3-billion project, consisting of 54 buildings, will provide office space for 54,000 workers. It is expected to be completed in seven years.

Construction was originally expected to begin in February 1986, but the project encountered problems. Two major financial backers, Morgan Stanley International and Credit Suisse-First Boston, would not permit construction unless the developer had signed up some major tenants. But prospective tenants refused to sign leases until the development was under way. The Reichmans offered last February to take over the troubled project but were turned down. But

last March Stanley and Credit Suisse abandoned the development. In June Whitely was forced out. At that point Paul Reichman became involved, negotiating a deal in July with the government agency overseeing the project.

Details of the agreement have still not been released, but according to British press reports OAY will spend \$257 million to acquire 100 per cent of



the Canary Wharf Development Company. The developer must also contribute \$496 million toward the cost of new roads and an elevated light rail transit line through the site, which is about five kilometers southeast of the City, the financial heart of London. Reichman told British journalists: "We will fund it ourselves. We can complete it on our own strength." Meanwhile, the Reichmans' acquisition of Canary Wharf has been hailed as the project's salvation. Said Arnoldson Co. Jr., managing director of London-based Morgan Stanley International: "They

are generally considered to be one of the best of our day, the best property developers in North America, and that means the world."

While continuing to expand their real estate holdings, the Reichmans have simultaneously moved to enhance the value of their resource holdings. In mid-June, Gulf Canada shareholders approved a complex company restructuring developed by Paul Reichman, some senior OAY executives and Merrill Lynch Canada Inc. Prior to this, Gulf Canada was a holding company that was 78.6 per cent owned by OAY. The balance was held by the public. A Merrill Lynch senior vice-president, Edward Clark, said that Gulf, like most holding companies, was trading at a discount to its real value because it contained such diverse assets. "The parts were worth more than the whole," he said.

Gulf Canada was divided into three companies as a result of the restructuring, and shareholders were given shares in each Gulf Canada, the holding company, former Gulf Canada Resources Ltd., a pure oil and gas company. Abitibi-Price Inc., the glass newspaper producer, was put into a separate company, while a new company, CW Utilities Ltd., was set up to hold the diverse interests acquired in the Hiram Walker takeover. Clark said that Gulf shares were trading at about \$25 before the reorganization was announced. Since then, the value of the investors' new shares in the three companies has more than doubled.

As for the future, Reichman does not see it. He and the brothers have developed a strategic plan to ensure that their empire outlasts them. Family friend Sarkis said that the entrepreneurial skills of successful real estate developers cannot be institutionalized or readily passed on to the next generation. As a result, the brothers are increasingly shifting their wealth into companies such as Gulf Canada, which can be run profitably by professional managers. Sarkis added that the Reichmans will continue to take advantage of development opportunities.

Still, if the next generation of the family fails to demonstrate the same genius for real estate, OAY may eventually become a company that merely operates a portfolio of revenue-generating properties. But without a landmark project, the Canary Wharf, to build, the Reichman brothers have assured themselves of a place among the greats of real estate development for years to come.

—BARBARA JENSEN with ROSE LAYZER in London, LAUREN BIRN in New York and ANNE BRUNELL in Toronto

Principal's stunning loss

The losses range from Hatteries' collapse in southern Alberta and Saskatchewan to a Boy Scout troop in Victoria. Like thousands of other investors in Western and Atlantic Canada, they are people who invested in the Edmonton-based Principal Group Ltd., a \$1.8-billion financial services empire controlled by Donald Corrie and his family. On June 28 the Alberta government unveiled the licenses of two Principal Group subsidiaries and the companies subsequently declared themselves insolvent. On Aug. 16 the Principal Group itself declared bankruptcy, and that evening the provincial government froze the assets of Principal Savings and Trust Co. The next morning hundreds of angry and distraught depositors stood outside the main branch of Principal Trust as Edmonton's Jasper Avenue and demanded their money. "I was told yesterday everything was okay," said lawyer David Ward, 55, as he pounded the thick glass doors. "I feel like breaking somebody's God damned leg."

By week's end, the initial spread had subsided and the damage caused by Principal Group's collapse had become clearer. The Canada Deposit Insurance

Corp (CDIC) said that \$130 million out of the \$125 million on deposit with Principal Trust was insured. Alberta Treasurer Dick Johnston predicted losses of \$150 to \$200 million from the failure of the two Principal Group subsidiaries, First Investors Corp Ltd (FIC) and Associated Investors of Canada Ltd (AIC). As well, Principal Group had insured \$85 million worth of unsecured promissory notes. But even Canadian companies were scrambling to buy the trust company and Principal's central fund portfolio, which are worth almost \$350 million.

Principal Group's board of directors, consisting of Donald Corrie, sons John N. and James M., and Kenneth Martin, decided to file for bankruptcy after a meeting early on Aug. 16. They had little choice, because Corrie's and Leonard, the court-appointed manager of FIC, had filed

two affidavits with the Alberta Court of Queen's Bench demanding that Principal Group repay unincorporated loans from FIC totalling at least \$13.4 million. But Principal Group's liabilities exceeded \$96 million, while its assets were worth only \$65.5 million. The Corries expressed outrage when Johnston froze the assets of the trust company.

Later the following day Principal Trust president John Corrie told reporters that the company's assets exceeded its liabilities by \$13 million.

In fact, J. Stephens Allan, chairman of Collins Barrow Ltd., the trustee for Principal Group, later confirmed that the trust company and two other subsidiaries remained solvent but added, "The value of these companies is declining with each passing day." The seven potential buyers of the

Principal Group assets were primarily interested in the trust company and the mutual funds.

There was no debate over the determination of the Principal Group, the parent company for the complicated

web of subsidiaries in the Corrie empire. It allegedly held assets worth \$25.5 million. But the Principal Group had issued \$54.2 million to Collective Securities Ltd., a holding company 80 percent owned by the Corries. The balance is held by Martin, who is Principal Group's vice-president. Consequently, Principal Group's assets were largely promissory notes from the Corries' holding company. Allan said that the Corries volunteered to sell personal assets to repay the \$54.2 million. If they had not offered, they could have faced legal action.

Principal Group's \$94.6 million in liabilities largely consists of converted promissory notes issued primarily to de-accumulators of \$200,000. Provincial Treasurer Johnston said that Alberta Hatteries' collapse purchased about 30 per cent of the sales, but he refused to comment on their total value. Logan Tuck, a Lethbridge, Alta., shareholder representative whose firm is employed by the Hatteries, said, "They treated with the company because it has a long history of paying back, and they believed their investments



An investor facing insolvency: a web of subsidiaries

would be secure and safe."

By late last week it was clear that the biggest losers will be groups like the Hatteries and the \$1,000 investors who bought unsecured investment certificates from FIC and AIC. The 140

company's investors, \$407 million, but Johnston said that he believes losses of "at least \$150 million to \$200 million." Among the FIC investors was a Victoria Bay Scout troop with some 75 members. The troop had purchased \$10,000 worth of investment certificates and used the interest to finance its activities.

Following the collapse of FIC and AIC, outraged investors demanded a full public inquiry into the companies and their relationship in the Principal Group. The government set up a five-member advisory committee to represent investor interests during the liquidation of FIC/AIC. Calgary corporate lawyer William Code will also conduct an inquiry into the failure of the companies and insist that he has the authority to subpoena witnesses, including cabinet ministers. "I have all the powers I need to run a full inquiry in public," Code told Martin's lawyer, if Code prevails in his bid.

quity, investors might get some satisfactory answers as to why they lost so much money without warning.

—DANIEL JENSEN with JOHN HORTON in Edmonton

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The rampaging bull on Wall Street

On Friday, Aug. 23, 1986, the New York Stock Exchange (NYSE) woke from a deep trading slumber. A small gain of 11.13 was posted on the Dow Jones industrial average, the first daily increase in more than a week. At the time, many economists and stock market analysts dismissed the minor gain as simply a fleeting moment of frenzied trading as investors anticipated a cut in interest rates. The economic environment was shored up in places with double-digit interest charges and high inflation. On the previous day the Dow, a barometer of U.S. industrial health, closed at a two-year low of 779.92. Still, economists and analysts were unprepared for the sustained period of market growth that began then and is still continuing five years later—the second-longest rally since 1929. The Dow has squiggled through a succession of record highs, which have added a whopping 3600.66 points to the leading indicator.

This year alone the Dow's average has jumped 38 per cent, with daily trading on the NYSE routinely topping 120 million shares, compared with 50 million a day in 1982. Now there is speculation, particularly among foreign investors and brokerage firms, that the market's robust performance will push the Dow past the 3000-point milestone. Last week it briefly cleared the 2200 mark before closing at 2085.42.

But the bullish activity is not limited to New York. Shareholder optimism has buoyed almost every major stock market in the industrial world in 1987. While most markets have surged to record volumes, North American markets jumped ahead as investors shifted their focus away from Europe to New York and Toronto. While the 1986 was touted as the year of the "Rampaging Bull," the 1987 market's rise is a series of gains. The Toronto Stock Exchange's composite 300 index of leading indicators, its market barometer, marched to four record highs last week, closing at 9083.82. Said Andrew Sarlos, chairman of investment counsel firm Andrew

Sarlos and Associates in Toronto. "This is a once-in-a-lifetime bull market."

Strong foreign investment has been the engine of the recent market rally. The U.S. dollar's steep decline, which began in early 1985, has attracted vast amounts of increasingly strong foreign cash to North American exchanges. As the dollar falls against other currencies,

foreign department's Bureau of Economic Analysis, the total amount of U.S. stock purchased by Japanese portfolio investors surged to \$4.3 billion in the first quarter of 1987—the same amount as for all of 1986.

In Canada the four major stock exchanges have also been responding to signs that the Canadian economy will continue to grow. Figures released by these exchanges—Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver and Alberta—revealed that the volume and value of shares traded in the first seven months of 1987 rose 55.2 per cent from the same period a year ago.

Driving the market is a hunger for resource stocks. A recovery in commodity prices, coupled with tensions in the Middle East and last week's strike in South Africa's gold mines, recently failed the demand for base metals, precious metals and oil and gas stock.

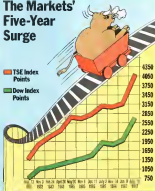
According to Terry Shawcross, research director at Merrill Lynch Canada Inc., Canadian companies have become attractive to foreign investors because the country is viewed as a commodity-oriented market. As Canadian firms streamlined their operations during the 1980s recession, they were able to make a profit even with soft commodity prices. Now, as the market engulfs and inventories are depleted, "the performance of those companies is starting to attract foreign money," Shawcross said.

Many analysts expect the bull market to scurried through 1987 and into 1988. According to Shawcross, many investors who have been wary of the market have seen the gains, particularly in gold and oil, and will not wait as the adage says: "Keep 800, not 8000." Analysts concede that the current foreign investment has been driven by anxious investors. But the same anxiety that spurred the market's opening, they caution, can also drag it back down.

—TERESA TIERNEY with ANN SHORTELL in Toronto

The Markets' Five-Year Surge

■ TSE Index Points
■ Dow Index Points



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CANADA'S BEST CHOICE

An ambitious venture in Alaska

By Peter C. Newman

Some of the heaviest construction equipment ever assembled north of the Arctic Circle begins rolling this month into an uncharted area on the Chukchee Sea just north of Kivalina, halfway up the forbidding coastline of Alaska's northwest coast. The assembled crews will begin building a road through treacherous hills of permafrost to a site 60 km inland, where Vancouver's Teck Corp. will develop the world's largest zinc ore body.

Person reserves at the Red Dog Mine (named after the episode who happened to be the only passenger of the bush pilot who first spotted the ore outcrop in 1968) are so massive that Louche's authoritative *Encyclopedia* has already predicted that its reserves could form their own version of an OPEC cartel to control world zinc prices. Teck president Norman Kevill Jr. deems such assertions but admits that after the new ore body is brought on stream, his company will control at least 35 per cent of world zinc supplies. "Red Dog is the kind of mine you build major companies on," he told me, comparing it with the Sudbury mine's importance to him. "It's one of the world's great mineral deposits—85 million tons of 25-per-cent zinc and lead-bearing ore—enough for 50 years."

A partner in the venture will be a corporation representing local Inuit interests, which under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1974, has expanded ownership of the land on which the open-pit operation will be developed. Teck is already paying the Inuit advance royalties of \$1.5 million a year and, after recouping its \$500-million spend-investment, will not then be far from initial 50 per cent ownership, an eventual 90 per cent of Red Dog's profits. That was the condition under which the mine and its essential road to tidewater, some of which runs through a national park, could go ahead. The agreement also requires final access to bulk operations for three weeks a year if trucks on the port highway threaten to disrupt caribou migrations.

Teck required rights to exploit the Red Dog site as part of its purchase of central lake last year of Cominco Ltd., the firm's former mining arm. Under the railway's agreement the project had been languishing because management was too nervous about depressed metal prices, and the company's crushing debt load wouldn't allow massive com-

mitments of new capital expenditures. Within weeks of its acquisition of Cominco, Teck decided to move ahead on Red Dog, advancing its production date to 1991 or even 1990.

Teck's reverse takeover of a Canadian giant by a West Coast upstart less than a quarter its size was a classic Jim Potlatch at Dornier Securities bid first approached Kevill with the idea when he heard that the ore was about to spin off an Cominco operation, which



Norman Kevill Jr., Teck's president

has lost roughly \$200 million over the past two years, yet required the infusion of more capital funds. Kevill and his financial team eventually put together an offer that included acquisition of a controlling stock position of 30 per cent, bringing in two partners (Metalsgesellschaft AG of West Germany and West Holdings of Australia) to share the financial burden. The net effect of these and other manoeuvres was to reduce the cash burden from a potential \$300 million to just over \$200 million, and much

of that was offset by a subsequent Teck share and warrant issue.

What Kevill got in return was not only a commitment of 15 operating mines and two acquisitions but two major properties, apart from Red Dog, close to the production stage: another mine deposit in Australia, called the Hellyer mine, and the Highland Valley mine in British Columbia, which could become North America's lowest-cost producer of copper. Also, the timing of the acquisition was such that Red Dog ore supplies will dovetail into Cominco's another schedule, as its Pine Point ore deposit is phased out later this year and the Sullivan mine is closed a decade from now.

Meanwhile, Kevill has further reduced Cominco's debt load by selling off West Kootenay Power & Light to a Missouri-based electrical company. Previous sales included that of the Portland cement operation in British Columbia for \$47 million and the earlier divestiture of the Coal mine for \$64 million.

Teck itself has been suffering from high debt problems, causing of those years of losses on asset sales and write-downs. Still, working capital ratios have improved recently and long-term debt is down to a manageable \$119 million. Kevill has embarked on another major debt reduction at Cominco, mainly through stock issues.

Since 1972, when the Kevills, father and son, moved their head office to Vancouver from Toronto, the market value of Teck's issued stock has jumped to more than \$1 billion from \$60 million, at least some of it gained by their onetime favorite habit of divided stripping. As well as its seven mines spread from Newfoundland to the Yukon, Teck is currently a major player in the Bermuda goldfields, as a partner with Cominco Resources in a mine in an area said to contain 11 million ounces of gold.

Kevill's father, Norman Sr., who admits to being at least 72, remains Teck's chairman and is probably a good

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The stuff of baseball legend

It's unlikely that Mark McGwire will hit 61 home runs as Roger Maris did in 1961, or even 60 as Babe Ruth did in 1927. But that it is more than possible that the Oakland Athletics' first baseman will lead the major leagues in home runs in 1997—and certain that he will finish the season as the leading rookie home-run hitter in baseball history. On July 29 the six-foot, five-inch, 225-lb McGwire slammed his 17th homer, tying the American League rookie record established in 1961 by Cleveland Indian Al Rosen. Last week on Aug. 12 in Seattle, McGwire joined Willie Berger of the 1990 Boston Braves and Frank Robinson of the 1956 Cincinnati Reds by hitting his league-leading 88th home run and tying the major-league rookie record. Then, on Aug. 14, McGwire slammed his 20th to set a new rookie home-run standard. Still, McGwire remains unafraid. Said the 25-year-old "It will only mean something to me after I sit back and look at it at the end of the year."

McGwire's exploits have attracted relentless media attention. The team attempts to avoid chaos by holding McGwire news conferences the day the bats arrive in each American League city. Through it all, McGwire remains courteous, often thinking reporters after interviews that, he admitted last week, "I'm saying 'no more now.' I'm tired of answering the same questions over and over again. I don't talk about what I'm doing unless the press brings it up."

A native of Pomona, a city 30 km east of Los Angeles, McGwire went primarily unscathed until his arrival at the University of Southern California. After graduating from Dunsmuir High School in 1983, McGwire entered university as a pitcher. But in 1984 he blossomed into a slapper, hitting 35 home runs. That season he made the U.S. Olympic team and Oakland made him its first choice in the free-agent draft. Despite his size, he seems small when standing next to his six-foot, eight-inch younger brother Danny, the starting quarterback at the University of Iowa. Recall McGwire, one of a family of five boys born to John and Grace McGwire. "My mom used to spend about \$300 twice a week at the supermarket. She really had trouble

keeping the refrigerator full."

McGwire got his first taste of the major leagues in 1986, playing in 38 games at the end of the season. At a game in Detroit, he signalled his hitting potential by smacking a home run more than 400 feet to straightaway centre field at Tiger Stadium. Yet when the 1987 season began, the Ath-



Oakland's McGwire: rookie records, accolades and the road for a better 'home-run' hit

letes had no plans to make McGwire a regular starter. Instead, he was to have shored relief assignments with Rob Nelson, another rookie with home-run power. But Nelson faltered and was demoted to the minor leagues. McGwire has been the team's first baseman ever since.

After hitting his first 1987 homer on April 10 and availing as April 22, he has been peppered the bleacher seats with homers. And the more homers McGwire hits, the more noticeable he becomes. They now include Great George and Graze Gracie—honors to McGwire's coral-colored hair—as well as Big Mac. In a three-game binge in May at Detroit, he bopped up to all of them by hitting five home runs. Then

in June he put on one of the most remarkable hitting displays in recent baseball history. In nine at bats in two games at Cleveland, McGwire hit five home runs, two doubles and two singles, and scored every time he got on base. The five homers in two games tied a major-league record.

An records and accolades accompa-

nie, McGwire's teammates help keep things in perspective. Said slugger Reggie Jackson, who has hit 562 pitches on one major-league fence. "He needs a better home-run trot." Added third baseman Carney Lansford. "He needs a better handshake." What McGwire says that he needs most is a little peace and quiet. This week, Kathy, is expecting their first child next month. Despite his increasingly hectic life, McGwire says that he does not feel under pressure. Said the young slapper, "What I've already done would be great for a season. What I add to it now is just a bonus." Each home will change a line in baseball's record book.

—CHRISTOPHER STEIN in Oakland, Calif.



Niekro pitching for Toronto's rubber balls, empty basins and cold sites

A season to remember

When baseball historians attempt to expurgate the 1987 major-league season, they will find a number of choices. The grand old game's 125th professional season may be recorded as the year of rubber balls, corked bats, beanballs or empty basins and sandpaper capers. Amid a risk of neuroticism, the 58 teams have managed to concentrate on the game long enough to sustain winning pennant races—particularly in the American League East and the National League West. But the action in baseball's league offices has been equally compelling. By week's end the offices had corked more than six balls and three bats and had suspended two pitchers for using empty basins and sandpaper in suspicious ways.

For Canadians, the season's uniqueness was underlined last week by two events. The Toronto Blue Jays acquired 46-year-old knuckle-ball pitcher Phil Niekro, one year after he wrote scathingly of Canadian baseball fans. And the Montreal Expos' vice-president and general manager, Murray Cook, 46, resigned for "personal and family reasons." Explained Cook. "My three kids need me to be with them during this time of separation from my wife."

The right-handed Niekro, second on the all-time list for home runs allowed, started for the Jays in Toronto on Aug. 33 against the Chicago White Sox, giving up three runs in six innings in a 10-3 loss to fans of more than 45,000 (see In Anarchy/MALLES, his ghost-written autobiography, Niekro called Canada "a colony of the United States," de-

scribed Canadian fans as "an-American" and said that they attended games to demonstrate their "affection for us." Prior to the outburst that greeted the St. Louis veteran in Toronto, the slightly portly Niekro said, "I'm looking forward to having a few ales with the fans after the game."

The Jays acquired Niekro for a minor-league outfielder the day before Philadelphia Phillies pitcher Kevin Brown was ejected from a game and suspended for 10 days for having a piece of sandpaper glued to his glove. On Aug. 3, Niekro's 60-year-old brother, Jon, who pitches for the Minnesota Twins, drew the same penalties for carrying an empty basin and a piece of sandpaper with him on the mound. Knuckle ball pitchers use empty basins to fill their fingers with, with which they grip the ball. The sandpaper, Jon Niekro explained, helps keep the empty bowl dry. But both players were suspended of using their tools to swiff the ball, making its flight unpredictable.

Meanwhile, the commissioner's office continued to check the composition of baseballs, which were flying out of stadiums at a record rate—and of bats, which were suspected of being filled with cork to assist the balls' flights. At the current pace, batters could hit 4,872 home runs by the end of the season—369 more than the combined National and American Leagues' record home-run years. But in his leading debut with the Blue Jays, at least, Niekro allowed just one.

—MAL GUINN in Toronto

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FROM

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PICTURES



AUGUST 14th

ON A SMALL STRETCH OF COASTLINE AS POWERFUL AS A MARY'S WILL, RICK KANE CAME TO SURF THE BIG WAVES. HE FOUND A WOMAN WHO COULD GIVE HIM COURAGE, A TEACHER WHO WOULD SHOW HIM HOW TO SURVIVE AND A CHALLENGE UNLIKE ANY OTHER.



NORTH
SHORE

MATT ADLER NIA PEEPLES
JOHN PHILLIPS GERRY LOPEZ
and GREGORY HARRISON

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Highway 404: High-pressure telephone campaigns and ridiculously low fares.

TRAVEL

Too good to be true

My Anne Wilkinson of Regina heard about an exciting travel bargain from a friend last winter: an Illinois travel agency was offering return airfare to Hawaii from any international airport in Canada or the United States for the low price of \$42 a round trip. Intrigued, the 38-year-old receptionist telephoned the Chicago-based company and used her Visa credit card to pay for four tickets. But the southern deal not specify which airlines she could use—or the point of departure. If she had gone ahead with the trip, the baggage would have evaporated. That is because she would also have had to pay for her hotel room through the company that booked hotel accommodations at substantial discounts but then sold it to clients at the full price. Now she has written a letter of complaint to the Illinois state government in an unsuccessful effort to get her money back.

Wilkinson has plenty of company. U.S. federal officials estimate that people paying to travel agents have shopped more than \$100 million from America and Canada would be customers this year. In Canada during the past several months, thousands of Canadians—no one is sure exactly how many—have been charmed by fly-by-night companies operating from such

states as Illinois, Texas, Florida and Tennessee. Travel industry officials say that, unlike radio and television commercials, direct-mail and high-pressure telephone campaigns, promoters cannot one day offer another with offers of two-to-one airfares, ridiculously low fares to Hawaii and supposedly free Florida vacations. Still, the Bureau, which monitors Ontario's travel business as supervisor of the province's Travel Industry Act. "These people are not selling travel. They are selling a scam, and it is growing."

The 58-year-old Barnes, who ran his own travel agency for 13 years before the Ontario government hired him last June 22, explained how some of the other operations work. •The free Florida vacation. The victim is told that he has won a three- or four-day holiday, not including airfare, and that all he has to do is pay a club membership, usually for about \$100, and notify the company up to 45 days in advance of departure. When the traveler subsequently calls back to make hotel reservations, he either finds that the hotel of his choice is not available or that the space is available but he must pay an additional \$10 or \$20 as a "booking fee." Travelers who actually fly to Florida frequently discover that

Canadian authorities are powerless to deal with questionable practices outside their borders. But officials in Illinois and other states say that they are attempting to close down such operations. To that end, the Illinois attorney general's department placed ads in newspapers across Canada last June inviting people to write if they had been misled by one company, World Travel Vacation Brokers Inc. So far, it has received more than 850 replies. The state has already closed down two companies—Amy Travel and Rainbow 20—and has asked the courts for an order shutting down World Travel and freezing its assets. And Illinois assistant attorney general William G. Sullivan "We intend to put these organizations out of business, and if the people who run them try to start up under another name, we will put them in jail."

Still, shutting down bogus operations is not easy. Said Florida Attorney General Robert Butterworth "Even as we speak, the next bedroom operation is getting up." Disclosed Ontario's Barnes. "As fast as a state attorney general closes them down, they jump into another state or simply change their names." Added Barnes "When you go to New York, you sometimes still see ads for it. You know, places with the old shell game—you know, guess what shell the pea is under. You walk away from that after a century, people would have gotten onto that, but they haven't. When something seems too good to be true, it usually is."

—EAE CORRELL in Toronto

the hotel has no record of their reservation and has a name board of the beer company.

•The two-for-one airline seat into a salesman will tell the customer that he can buy two seats worth \$2,000 for \$1,000 in addition to an administration fee. But the salesman refuses to explain that \$2,000 for two seats is the full-price regular fare. What the customer gets are two tickets at discount fares, usually with restrictions on their use, which he could have purchased himself for \$500 through a legitimate travel agency or from an airline. The promoter pockets the administration fee of at least \$20 or \$30.

SCIENCE

Gaining on cancer

For decades scientists have known that the mystery of inherited diseases such as cystic fibrosis and one form of anemia lay locked within the body's genes. But the knowledge was of little use—because researchers lacked a technique for looking at the microscopic particles apart to see how they were made and how a

also discovered the subtle tracks in about one-fifth of nine cancers where there was no history of the hereditary disorder. Bodmer said that the abnormality suggested that a cancer-causing gene acted nearby. If the gene was identified, said Bodmer, that might lead to much earlier diagnosis in from 20 to 40 per cent of all cases.



Mount Sinai researchers, Silverman (above), getting to the heart of the action

normal gene differed from its abnormal—and possibly disease-causing—counterpart. But about 10 years ago three groups of scientists working independently found a way to begin dissecting genes, and ever since, laboratories all over the world have joined the race to establish links between malfunctioning genes and disease. Then, last week, a team headed by geneticist Sir Walter Bodmer at London's Imperial Cancer Research Fund announced the results of a study of families susceptible to an inherited disorder which often precedes cancer of the colon.

The condition, familial adenomatous polyposis, is characterized by the formation of polyps in the large intestine, and its victims have a greatly heightened risk of colon cancer. Bodmer's group found the same abnormal genetic material in almost all of the family members who developed cancer of the colon after long intervals. The most deadly form of the disease among Europeans and North Americans. But that abnormality could not be detected in those who did not develop cancer. They

Bodmer's work was widely anticipated. Said Dr. Sidney J. Winawer, head of gastroenterology at New York's Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center "These reports are important and exciting." And gastroenterologist Louis Silverman, research director at Mount Sinai Hospital's Research Institute in Toronto, said that about half the cancer research worldwide has been going into pursuing the relationship between genes and the variety of diseases called cancer.

"We all carry in our bodies about 50 or 60 cancer genes," said the 45-year-old Silverman, who has built an international reputation for his work in virology, biochemistry and genetics. "What we believe is that these normal genes serve a normal function, that they are needed for growth and control, and what occurs in the initiation of cancer is that something

happens to that gene so that it is activated. We now know the normal function of about six or seven of those genes and something of the initiating events that alter them."

That activation process, Silverman added, has been identified in one kind of leukemia. And there are all sorts of "exceptions" that there is a cancer gene involved in retinoblastoma, a cancer of the eye. One of the genes, he said, was discovered by researchers who took deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA), the basic chemical of life, from breast cancer cells and put it into normal cells. The cancer gene in the normal cells was activated by the added DNA and they turned into cancer cells.

But the research of the past decade applied to far more than cancer, said Silverman. "Many diseases we have are probably caused by some defect at the DNA level," he said. "One single change in the DNA molecule will produce a disease. These defects can be caused by a variety of things—viruses, chemicals, environmental mutagens."

He added that cystic fibrosis and muscular dystrophy—a degenerative muscular disease which occurs mostly among males—are the result of a single chemical change in one of the trillions of genes in the body. And in related work, researchers in Toronto and Boston have identified about 25 per cent of the gene responsible for some form of sickle cell, making it possible to screen fetuses for the disease with 99.99 per cent accuracy.

Silverman said that screening could also be used for cystic fibrosis, which occurs only when parents have the same genetic code. It could go through the whole population of those who are parents of or of child-bearing age," the geneticist said, "and isolate those cases where each parent has a copy of the gene and rules out chances in first of their children. We would look at the fetus and, if the parents agreed to abort, the gene could almost wipe out."

Up to now, said Silverman, by concentrating on growth or normality such as tumors "we have been looking at the end of the process. Now we're looking at the beginning and getting to the heart of the action"—and in the long run, he said, the most intense focus in the causes of disease.

—EAE CORRELL in Toronto



Mysterious deaths at sea

Early morning letters on a beach along the New Jersey community of Ocean Shore found the first grim signs that a mysterious marine disaster was under way. On July 1, discovery—the battered, shark-bitten body of a bottlenose dolphin—was followed by daily reports that other dead dolphins were washing ashore from New Jersey to Virginia. And the Canadian scientist who is leading the investigation into those deaths now estimates that more than 100 dolphins have died during the past six weeks. That fatality rate is at least twice as high as normal among the 1,500 dolphins that spend their summers along the 300-km stretch of coastline.



Dead dolphins: searching for a killer

Joseph Gerasi, a renowned marine biologist from Raleigh, Ore., expressed concern that human might also be at risk. Declared Gerasi: "These waters are used by bathers, and whatever is affecting the animals might affect people. There is legitimate reason to fear a little tsunami."

Certainly, the dolphin deaths have increased local environmentalists' demands for tougher pollution controls. Declared Dennis Stenborg, a New Jersey dentist and one of the founders of Save Our Shores, a citizens' group that is lobbying for state action: "No one can say just what is killing the dolphins but we know that the water is contaminated by sewage, chemical waste and heavy metals. The swimming materials are being killed, and the land mammals that use the water—bathers—are getting sick." And from his headquarters in a Virginia Beach hotel, Rod McWilliams of Washington, Gerasi and five other members of a research team which was hastily assembled by the U.S. government are studying records of legal toxic waste dumping in nearby counties and waters. Declared Gerasi: "We are searching for a wide range of pollutants."

Still, Gerasi acknowledged that he had never witnessed a disaster of this magnitude during a 25-year career of studying marine mammals. Gerasi, who had previously performed 1,400 dolphin autopsies,

has already conducted another six on dolphins found along the New Jersey shoreline. His preliminary findings, most of the animals seemed to have died of shock and heart failure. Some showed signs of starvation, and several were suffering from bacterial pneumonia.

But researchers stressed that the investigations was likely to be a difficult, time-consuming process—even with the aid of sophisticated laboratory tests. Declared team spokesman Bruce Gorman: "Even if we get a report back saying that this bacteria or that virus was found in the animals' tissue, we still may not be able to say that it was the killer." Added Gerasi: "There is always some element of mystery in dealing with a disease, and there may be a wide range of bacteria or organisms affecting these animals."

At week's end, the scientists said that they hoped to solve that puzzle by capturing, and then examining, a live dolphin. Gerasi noted that one researcher had already managed to swim among several dolphins whose movements may have been slowed down by illness. Declared Gerasi: "It is very unusual for dolphins to allow a person to get so close. It is indicative that there is something wrong." Now, he and his fellow scientists are striving to discover the cause of that distress before many more dolphins wash ashore.

—MACLEAN GRAY with WILLIAM LYNNHIRE in Washington

Snakes in the bathroom

For Laurie Lamotte, it was a nightmare come true. For one week the toilet in her two-bedroom Hamilton apartment had not been flushing properly. But on Aug. 9, Lamotte, 41, came face to face with the cause of that problem when she looked into the toilet bowl—and found a bass constructor staring back at her. The five-foot-long snake, which escaped from a nearby apartment, had crawled quietly in the building's sewer system. Then it popped up in Lamotte's bathroom. Said Lamotte, who has a deep-rooted fear of snakes: "It was like a horror story."

The homeowner snaked quickly retreated into the

sewer system, as Lamotte related the alarm. And almost as rapidly, Lamotte, her husband, John, 34, and their two children, Bradley, 2½, and five-month-old Derek, found that their unwanted visitor had made them the centre of attention. During the next four days reporters and curious neighbors crowded into the small bathroom as officials from the Hamilton Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (SPCA) attempted to capture the elusive beast with dead rats and a gopher pig. But the box evaded the trap that was supposed to end its reign of terror. The SPCA officials acknowledged their failure but argued that this was the first time they had encoun-

tered a bass constructor in a drainpipe. Added Robert Moorme, assistant manager of the Hamilton SPCA: "And I hope it's the last." Lamotte's real-life nightmare ended at noon on Aug. 18, at that time a plumber found a black-and-white and the suffocated bass—in the sewer pipes below the Lamottes' 12th-floor apartment. The SPCA officials removed the corpse for eventual cremation, leaving Lamotte with the terrifying memories of her reptile visitor. Declared Lamotte: "I'm always going to have the fear. I'll always be playing peekaboo with the toilet seat."

—NORA UNDERWOOD in Hamilton



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Harsh lessons from an inquiry

By George Bain

The occasional lamentations in the media about the costs of the public inquiry into allegations of conflict of interest against former industry minister Sinclair Stevens, and of the government's assuming his legal bills, are odd. Hardly anyone can have expected that an inquiry could have been held at no cost. About Mr. Stevens's bills, it makes a very ethical question whether the media ought to be fostering the idea that someone they have been mainly responsible for placing in the dock ought to shoulder alone the costs of clearing his name. Given the acute vulnerability of persons attacked by persistent public office, the likeliest result of any policy of automatic abandonment if accused would be an enhanced risk of worthwhile people away from politics.

Here and there, there have been brief-swinging editorials and broadsheet commentaries, but mostly what has been reflected in private opinion. A recent example—a letter to the editor of *The Globe and Mail*, published on Aug. 3—was in part "Can the federal government justify spending that much (nearly \$5 million for the inquiry, a further \$300,000 for Stevens's legal bills) on an inquiry that serves no useful purpose, except possibly to exonerate Mr. Stevens? I think it's time to institute a policy to handle cases such as this and prevent a cabinet minister from having his name cleared at great expense to the taxpayers."

The presumable intent of the letter-writer was not to say that ministers should be prevented from having their names cleared but that they should be left to their own resources in doing so. There is in fact a better way, or at least cheaper way, to perform such inquiries than by setting up a full-blown commission of inquiry under a judge—in this case Chief Justice William Parker of the High Court of Ontario. That is to say a parliamentary committee to weigh the evidence and report, preferably not just guilt or innocence, but the whole feasible circumstances, including how, by whom and with what reliability the allegations were made. That would demand parliamentarians who were not so obsessed with scoring partisan points as to be incapable of making fair judgments.

The scene at one committee meeting

attended by Stevens was scarcely encouraging: as related on May 8, 1990, by William Casey of CBC TV, a "rough-house rally" occurred. "Labour John Nantais tried to push his way through, another cabinet minister, André Bouchette, showed his way in to block him, a fellow Liberal colleague Nantais to try to settle things down. Liberal Sheila Copps hurled chairs to chase the minister down the hall. Outside, Nantais ran after Bouchette claiming the minister had assaulted him, and threatened criminal charges." Remember—witness the recent odd, enhanced hearings on the Iran-contra affair—they do these things better in Washington.

But to look at the question only as one of a forum is to leap over a lot of important intermediate ground—as, for instance, the quality of the 146 allegations, mainly from the media, with

The point is that much of the reporting on Sinclair Stevens was bad—including making charges on no proof

elaborations from MPs. However, these MPs, as preliminary interviews with committee counsel, proved to have been to no original information. Consequently, there are on the record very few journalists, who may have had no original information themselves, interviewing opposition MPs, who had none, and together producing damaging innuendo. For instance, an item on CBC on May 5 listed: "It's been confirmed that [Stevens] personally let the [Hyundai automobile] company off the hook for \$300 million."

Liberal Lloyd Axworthy: "It seems to me that is an unacceptable betrayal of Canadian economic interests. And we really want to know how much it's tied up with his own personal arrangements." Interviewer: "What you're suggesting is that there may be... I don't know, this is a pretty strong word, but some sort of kickback philosophy going on here?" Axworthy: "Well, we don't know."

Fifty allegations related to a loan Stevens got from the Canadian subsidiary of the Hyundai Bank of Korea before he was a minister, the fact that the multinational Hyundai company had a

small financial stake in the Haril Bank and the terms on which Hyundai set up manufacturing in Canada. A Canadian Press report (Feb. 27, 1987) on the run-up of controversy against David Scott said, "The account I signed the relationship between Haril Bank Canada and the Hyundai motor company was insufficient to establish that one could exert control over the other and said there was no evidence Stevens knew the link existed." The supposed Korean Connection was one of the two pillars on which the case against Stevens originally was based, in effect, it now has been found not to have existed.

Also, the second original police was dashed in the stretching, again as reported by CBC. Scott said commission lawyers also had concluded that there was no evidence Stevens bestowed preferential treatment on Magna (the car parts firm). However, they said he was in conflict of interest for entertaining Magna's bids for government and while allegedly aware his wife had received a \$24.8-million loan from a former officer of the firm. Even while the crucial point there would Chief Justice Parker's judgment—his report may be out next month—it is evident that if Stevens was aware of the loan, which he has denied, there can have been no worse than an appearance of a possible conflict of interest, nothing he was acquainted with as a minister was given away.

The point here is not to try to anticipate the commissioner's report but to say that a lot of the reporting, read in extended chunks, was bad, including the mixing of charges on no proof. "The misuse of industrial espionage is asking people who want to be on the short list for grants, contracts, whatever, to be nice and sympathetic to his wife's business"—Ottawa CBC TV commentator's religious, antiquated, material from the times that would be ludicrous if not privileged, surely total non-sensibility in the use of allegation MPs as commentators—and often, the least responsible of those, and more simple misstatements of fact like misquoting ministers like to attack over got by their. It is not so strange a journalistic record that media people can be confident that public anger at the high road of name-clearing will not turn their way if Chief Justice Parker finds the affair to have been vastly overblown.



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PROBING

The contest for cable

Like an epic TV mini-series, Canada's month-long specialty-television hearings, which ended on Aug. 13, were expensive and loaded with conflict. As well, they were conducted in a regulatory vacuum, because the federal government has not announced any policy on satellite-cable service and other technological developments. But the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC), which had delayed the hearings twice because of Ottawa's lack of guidance, finally went ahead last month in full. Que. Industry analysts estimate that some of the 21 parties applying for all-news channels and other specialty services cost as much as \$600,000 on their proposals—without knowing what the government would demand in return. And Gerald Caplan, co-chairman of last year's broadcasting task force, "That is a curious way to be running one of the most important television decisions of our time."

One of the most ambitious bids for the nation's top cable viewers was the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's all-news channel proposal, which was included taped submissions from U.S. anchorman Tom Brokaw and Dan Rather. The CRTC stated that it would cover the costs of the service through advertising revenues and a subscriber fee ranging from 25 to 50 cents a month, depending on how many cable companies opted to carry it.

In direct competition with the CRTC is Dr. Charles Allard's Edmonton-based communications company, Allardson Ltd. Allard proposed that all cable companies be required to carry his news channel, at a cost of 50 cents per subscriber. So far, there is no indication of which side the CRTC will choose—if either. The commission questioned Allardson's ability to provide adequate international coverage

And when the CRTC renewed the CRTC license last year, it stated that the network's priority must be financial stability—and not launching new services.

Indeed, the CRTC has emphasized secure financing for new services even since its 1993 licensing of an competing pay-TV movie channels—of which only

two are still in existence. In the current round of hearings, CRTC chairman Andrew Harris praised the apparent fiscal solidity of The Family Channel, a proposed pay-TV service to be jointly owned by Allardson and the Toronto-based First Choice pay-TV movie station. The service would rely on the U.S. Disney Channel for the bulk of its programming, supplementing that with Canadian productions. Although most of the other applicants wanted to tap the profits of Canada's \$180-billion home video industry, TV Canada, the nonprofit had, would provide a second run for the country's best public broadcasting.

The CRTC must also decide whether to allow two new existing ser-

vices, MuchMusic and The Sports Network, to move from pay TV to the less restrictive—and much more prevalent—basic cable. Both services want the CRTC to make all cable stations carry them at a cost of less than 50 cents per subscriber. But the Canadian Cable Television Association has balked at the notion of endorsed carriage. Rial Association co-chairman director William Allen. "For us, the flexibility to bond packaging and pricing is key." The cable operators are in good company: the CRTC must still through 1994 written intervention as it begins choosing among the applicants. The commission plans to announce its decision by the end of the year—but it acknowledges that it may need more time to adjust the rest of the nation.

—PAMELA VOORNS in Toronto



Gerald Caplan: ambitious bids

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FILMS

A secret nest of spies

THE WHISTLE BLOWER
Directed by Simon Langton

A portrait of a gray society where privacy is an unaffordable luxury, *The Whistle Blower* is a frightening—and absolutely first-rate—spy thriller. It focuses on Bob Jones (Nigel Havers), a Russian asset for the British government's intelligence-gathering service, and his father, Frank (Michael Caine), a widower and Korean War veteran disillusioned with his job. Bob tells Frank early in the film that he would like to resign. He says that the British and Soviet secret services have become much the same thing, adding that "their secret world has put out the light of the ordinary world." Frank, who has learned the value of hard-earned financial security, begs his son to reconsider his position—particularly in view of a recent spy scandal that has rocked British intelligence. Later, Bob

under duress and close to reporting another and more serious scandal that he has discovered within the service, meets a comely but accidental death. As the plot-stricken Frank becomes drawn into the intrigue, he begins to see the light of his own ordinary world again.

Working like a time bomb, *The Whistle Blower* deftly builds suspense with a smart, sophisticated plot. Screenwriter Julian Bond (*The Shooting Par-*

ty) has simplified John le Carré's Russian novel without ever losing its thrust or texture. And Simon Langton, who directed le Carré's *Smiley's People*—based on John le Carré's novel of the same name—keeps the action clear and detailed as it moves from one astonishing disclosure to another. Frank's investigation into his son's death embraces a wide spectrum of British society from the lookups of the intrigue, a senior civil servant named Sir Adrian Chapple (Sir John Gielgud), to a lower-class, left-wing journalist, Bill Pickett (Kenneth Cope), who comes to Frank's aid.

The Whistle Blower is a grand, well-acted, superb acting. As a simple, moral man whose faith in his country is seriously eroded, Caine gives one of the most compelling performances of his career. And Barry Foster, as his wartime friend who has advanced through the civil service but has slunk on a human being, strikes a memorable portrait of a successful conman—and a pathetic man. James Fox and Gordon Jackson, as higher-ups within British intelligence, are appropriately offbeat and bitter. *The Whistle Blower*, whose tone recalls the taut and duplicitous espionage universe of le Carré, paints the world as an overcast, terrifying place. Ultimately, it provides a chilling reminder of the losses of freedom in society.

—LAWRENCE OTTOLENGHI

Love and law on the bayou

THE BIG RANSY
Directed by Jim McBride

The chemistry between Dennis Quaid and Ellen Barkin in *The Big Ransy* has all the elements of an enthralling romance: warmth, wit, sex and tension. Quaid is Henry Newman, the top detective in his New Orleans precinct, a lady's man who is a smoldering combination of Irish and Cajon ancestry. Although Ransy, like most of his police department colleagues, accepts petty bribes, he is basically a decent cop. All he needs is someone to set him on the straight and narrow, and that person arrives in the form of Anne Osborne (Barkin), a district attorney's agent investigating police corruption. But Ransy's moral misadventure—and the couple's budding love life—is ripped as crudely as it is sweetly when his office frames him for accepting police-protection money, and Anne undertakes the job of prosecuting him. Despite its flaws, *The Big Ransy* (a nickname for the New Orleans district attorney) blends humor, romance and action crime with surprising aplomb.

The script by Daniel Petrie Jr. (*Cherish*, *White Cop*) weaves a compelling tale involving the Mafia, local drug dealers and an unscrupulous police department. And the infectious camaraderie of Ransy's fellow officers, played by Noel Donnelly, Andy Davis, Persley, John Goodman and Eddie the Dog, makes the final twisting of the plot all the more enjoyable; the villains are characters the audience has come to like. Unfortunately, the style and rhythm created by director Jim McBride (*Breakdown*) is not always a match for Petrie's writing.

Still, that shortcomings are easily offset by the superb performances of Quaid and Barkin. His New Orleans accent, with its soft consonants and lazy cadence, is almost perfect. But beyond his technical prowess, Quaid has a depth of feeling rare in current actors. In the scene in which Ransy confesses his corrupt dealings to Anne, Quaid creates an indelible impression of a man whose world is falling apart. Barkin, with her edgy angular face and almost Oriental eyes, has often been brilliant in smaller, more sustained parts. She comes into her own as an actress in *The Big Ransy*, which represents her first full-fledged role. Together, Quaid and Barkin have a hell of a screen.

—L. OTT

WHOP'S THAT GIRL
Directed by James Foley

Reconstruct comedies that play on urban anxieties are tailor-made for yuppie audiences in the 1980s. Already, the trend has a proven track record, with such box-office hits as *Dependin' on How You Feel*, *After Hours*, and *Something Wild*. In an apparent effort to exploit that winning formula, the makers of *Who's That Girl* have taken the stars of two of these films—Madonna from *Sex* and

one scenes when two sleazy thugs abduct the would-be bride, Wendy (Hartman-Morrin), and in the heart of shattering melodrama. But unlike Martin Scorsese's *After Hours*, and especially Jonathan Demme's *Something Wild*, director James Foley never takes his film to the anxious edge of comedy. In the end Foley, who is also Madonna's video director, seems content to make *Who's That Girl* just another showcase for the pop-music stars.

—SHERIDAN JENNINGS



Madonna and Nouri: A couple who have a far longer life together

Griffin Dune from *After Hours*—and throw them into a comely shoot-out-matched love. Madonna plays Nikki Pinn, a streetwise thief who is the victim of a murder frame-up. Recently paroled and dead-on as revenge, she enlists the help of mild-mannered tax attorney London Trott (Dunne) as the eve of his marriage to his bride's delirious daughter. What follows is a helter-skelter ride that takes London's life topsy-turvy. Despite some gaudy moments, *Who's That Girl* has all the sizzle and color of a carnival—but none of the thrills.

The biggest letdown in the movie's outside quality Madonna plays Nikki as an irritatingly sweet Keweenaw doll, complete with a squeaky Betty Boop voice. Although that may appeal to her younger fans, it leaves older viewers laughing for the playful realism of *Sex*. Demme is far more convincing as the high-strung, about-to-marry lawyer. And the movie does manage some riot-

DIRTY DANCING
Directed by Emile Ardolino

Movie that launch a new dance craze often become box-office hits. In 1977, *Saturday Night Fever* turned the spotlight on disco dancing and became one of the decade's top-grossing films. Then, in 1982 *Flashdance* won smash-hit status with its sexy scenes of fast-paced jazz dancing. *Dirty Dancing*, set in a Catskills hotel resort in the 1960s, tries blatantly to copy the slick approach of *Flashdance*. The title refers to a form of close dancing popular with teenagers at the time. Baby Houseman (Jennifer Grey) discovers it when she meets and falls for Johnny Castle (Patrick Swayze), a hotel's exhibition dancer. And when Johnny's usual dance partner, Penny (Cynthia Rhodes), cannot perform, he trains Baby for the role. But so the plot unfolds, it becomes apparent

that the movie-makers chose to think with their feet. Director Fittle Ardolino has given little thought to period, plot or characterization. Instead, he focuses on the energetic but curiously generic dance sequences. Although the movie features the music of such 1960s artists as Otis Redding, several new songs sound as out of place as Strauss waltzes. Grey, as the unbelievably resourceful Baby, is a charming neophyte who manages to foil the villainousness of the script. But Swayze, with his muscle-bare face and dead eyes, has all the vitality of a catalogue model. Clearly, the producers of *Dirty Dancing* have forgotten that it takes two to tango.

—LARBENT OTTOLE

A MAN IN LOVE
Directed by Diane Kurys

Signed and sealed is often credited with asking "What does a woman want?" Now, with *A Man in Love*, French director Diane Kurys (born 1945) asks the same question about a man. But her answer is hardly enlightening, perhaps because of the particular kind of man she chose to examine: an actor. Steve Elliott (Peter Coyote) is in Rome making a movie about the last days of Italian poet Cesare Pavese, who committed suicide at 41. Jane Sutter (Greta Scacchi), an unknown actress, is cast as the last woman Pavese met before he died. The two actors connect professionally and personally, but he is married to a jealous woman (Janis Lee Carter) and Jane has a boyfriend (Vincent Lindon) in Paris. In Kurys's film, love makes having to say you are sorry to too many people.

Kurys obviously intended to make a soap-opera romance, punctuated by a director's shouts of "Cut!" But the film also seems to explore what goes on inside a man's head when he is in love. However, the character of Elliott, a temperamental star with an enormous ego, is too speakable: the feelings of a more ordinary man would have had greater resonance. Kurys is better at evoking Jane's confusion and the teaching relationship between her and her dying mother (Cynthia Cardinale). *A Man in Love* stirs and soothes as much as it is a great romance. But by choosing to focus on the artificial world of a movie set, Kurys prevents an actor in love—which is an entirely different affair.

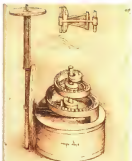
—L. OTT

ART

The master builder

It is almost impossible to separate Leonardo da Vinci from the myth that has canonized his name for more than 400 years. He has become the ultimate embodiment of the Renaissance Man, not just the creator of the *Mona Lisa* and *The Last Supper*, probably the two best-known paintings of Western civilization, but inventor who dreamed up submarines, flying machines and the ball game.

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Study by Leonardo: flying machines and ball game

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are apparent in his notebooks. Indeed, many of his so-called inventions have turned out to be based on his observations of already existing technologies or ideas—including the diving suit, the automobile and the military tank. The exhibition catalogue does much to dispel the myth of Leonardo the inventor-of-everything, and the figure who emerges from modern research is one more interesting. Scholars have been trying to reconstruct a chronology from the vast, chaotic jumble of his papers—nearly 4,000 sheets containing about 20,000 drawings, many of them discarded since the 16th century. What emerges is a man who, in his late 40s, was seized with the desire to discover the unchangeable principles that he be-

lieved underlay the natural world. He studied optics and mechanics, and so astutely directed the human body that he was amazed of neuroscience. He was fascinated by the movement of water and progressed from observing the flight of birds to consider the nature of winds.

In the process, Leonardo turned from a technician to something more closely resembling a scientist. He dreamed of creating a new encyclopedia of knowledge. His drawings from that period—freely called Leonardo's search for the kind of unity he juxtaposed the vaulted chambers of the heart with his designs for the colonnades of a block of stables. Leonardo's wide-ranging quest for knowledge may explain why he left so many projects unfinished and why he acquired a reputation for unreliability.

But despite that reputation, he was always in demand, spending the last years of his life as the intellectual ornament of the French court of Francis I. According to the 18th-century sculptor Benvenuto Cellini, Francis "believed that there had never been another man born in the world who knew as much as Leonardo, not so much about sculpture, painting and architecture, and that he was a very great philosopher." On the evidence of Leonardo da Vinci, *Engineer and Architect*, much of Leonardo's work was indeed an ambitious inquiry into the mysterious nature of life.

—GEOFFREY JAMES

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Misery*, King (2)
- 2 *Exes*, Smith (2)
- 3 *Dark Gentils*, Ballard (2)
- 4 *The Thursday Child*, Sanders (2)
- 5 *The Heartless Man*, L'Amour (2)
- 6 *Five Things*, Steel (1)
- 7 *Patrol*, Green, Chapin (1)
- 8 *Presumed Innocent*, Turner
- 9 *Solitaire*, Deasy (1)
- 10 *Redskins*, Lawrence (1)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Synthesizer*, Wright (1)
- 2 *Others Unborn*, McHugh (1)
- 3 *Living Bird*, Deimund and Deimund
- 4 *Wear Advice from the Back Doctor*, Hall (1)
- 5 *Grey Days*, Marsh (1)
- 6 *History in Motion*, Jack Caplan (2)
- 7 *The Diffused Drive*, Park (1)
- 8 *The New Start with M&M*, Brown & Ackerman
- 9 *Her Name*, Nunn (1)
- 10 *Cow Farm*, Broad (2)

11 *Parables*, last week

—Compiled by Frances McNulty

Speaking with fewer tongues

By Stewart MacLeod

Okay, you're Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, you're wallowing at the bottom of the opinion polls, nothing your government does seems to win favor, and within 18 months or so you have an appointment with the voters. You've tried everything—sometimes even both sides of everything—and the pollsters tell you it's all back to zero.

They say there's a problem in the area of trust, that you haven't quite lived up to expectations. Is it because what you preached and practiced is, say, the kind of patronage system we're apart? Is it because the Access to Information Act has made a public spectacle of your cabinet's spending habits? Could it be because people still resent the way you hired all your friends? Or perhaps it's because you fired them. Or is it that damned show about St. Simeon Drive?

Could be anything. But if you're going to win the next election, there must be immediate and drastic action. So here, with no change, is a politically charming idea to not only win Canadians but also solve your self-proclaimed problem of not getting your message across. First, ask yourself: how you expect 40 cabinet ministers—there's one vacancy at the moment—news obtained to be faithful, to possibly transmit a coherent message?

Right, now spend a weekend at your Harrington Lake cottage alone—children are a terrible distraction—with a list of cabinet ministers, name of whom may not be too familiar to you, and be prepared for some serious darning. Start by asking yourself who among the 40 you need the least, then run a pencil through the name. Now, go on to the second-least-needed, then the third, fourth, etc.

When you get down to about 20, look at how they reflect such all-Canadian concerns as race, region and religion—perhaps it will be necessary to compromise on a few choices. Barrel back to Ottawa, call a news conference to announce another incidental aid package and, near the end of proceedings, casually mention that you're cutting your cabinet in half.

No talk about how many jobs your government has created, or how well you get along with Ronald Reagan, or

what a financial mess you inherited from the goofy Grits. And whatever you do, don't utter your own name, as in "When Brian Mulroney points to 'Play it low-key, business-like and modest. Yes, acknowledge that you took a few years to realize it, but that a 40-member cabinet for a country of 25 million is, for lack of a better word, stupid."

Sure, there will be 20 former ministers somewhat checked off, but what's 20 compared with a couple of million applauding voters?

No, of course we're not kidding. Naturally, the announcement will bring on a barrage of questions, but you will have the answers scribbled on your left pocket, where you normally keep the job-creation figures. And to make yourself feel more comfortable, start off by talking a shot at former prime minister Pierre Trudeau, who followed his ministry up to an insupportable 27.

Brian Mulroney is wallowing at the bottom of the opinion polls. There must be immediate and drastic action

Forget about John Turner, who, during his long weekend in office, cut it back to a more respectable 20. Just touch the important bases.

Tell the media the media you took a look at Britain, where they don't even have promises to look after education, highways, etc. and when there are usually only 20 ministers in cabinet. Sure, there are junior ministers with special responsibilities, but they don't clutter up cabinet meetings unless specifically invited. More like our parliamentary secretaries.

Go on to mention the United States, where, if our minister-to-population ratio were copied, there would be 600 members of cabinet. As it is, the Americans run the world with a 16-member cabinet.

And, oh yes, go back to the 1940s and marvel at how we managed our entire war effort and the postwar boom with about 20 cabinet ministers. John Diefenbaker, even with his enormous 268-member caucus to placate, managed to get by with 21 ministers.

He didn't get by for very long, of

course, but that's another story.

By all means blame the Grits. The Pearson government started the big buildup, quickly getting to 36, and it was Trudeau who divided it off. Too in the news that by eliminating 20 ministerial salaries—about \$45,000 above an ordinary MP's—there is an immediate saving of \$900,000. Then there are the parliamentary secretaries to the ministers, drawing an extra \$2,500, who would automatically go down the tube as well. Now take a page out of Trudeau's playbook and, instead of defending the ministers, turn the tables and ask the reporters some snappy questions. Like, "When we have such a huge department of national health and welfare, didn't you people ever ask why we needed a separate minister for fitness? And when we have a department dedicated to industrial expansion, which changes names every full moon, why do we need a minister for small business? And a minister for external affairs and another for external relations? Come on. We not only have a minister of energy, mines and resources, there is a separate minister for forestry and science. And we have to split the Canadian Wheat Board from Agriculture! My list alone shows that what's-his-name is minister for youth, for senior's care. And two ministers for bilingualism!"

Look disgruntled here, or else crack a joke about having one immigration minister for airports and another for night boat arrivals. Shake your head a few times, it's good TV.

Be sure to say something beautiful about our ethnic communities, but then proclaim that it was insensible politicking for the Trudeau government to establish a ministry of multiculturalism, even though, like socialism, it doesn't have an exclusive minister. Anyway, cut the guy, along with every junior and senile minister. And whatever you do, don't appoint any fired ministers to plumb diplomatic posts. That would undo everything.

Now that you've got the cobbles laid to operational proportions, you'll be able to hold weekly meetings with 20—imagine, just like the good old days when every member actually knew what was going on in government. And in time, the public may start to recognize individual ministers, perhaps even listen to them.

After Patterson's is on vacation.

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